

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BENGAL SUBAH

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STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BENGAL SUBAH

1740-70

VOL. I: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

BY

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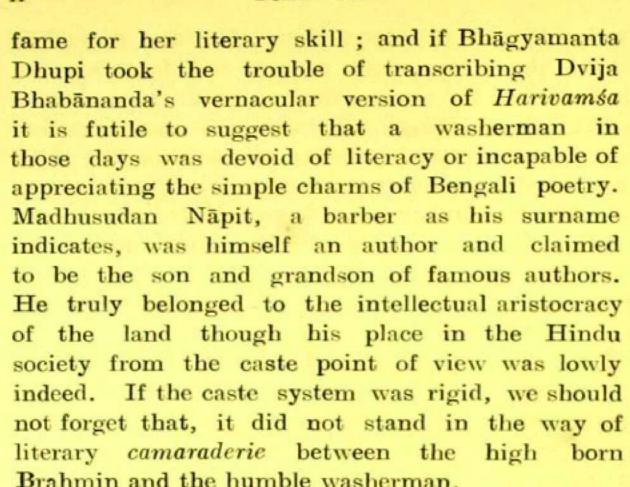
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FORE WORD

Every workshop has its by-products and the historian's is not an exception. Mr. Kalikinkar Datta has been, for the last few years, engaged in an intensive study of the history of Bengal during the 18th century. The main results of his investigation have been embodied in another volume but a few chips from his workshop have been presented in the following pages. There is a general impression among lay readers that the modern period affords but little scope for a research student's scrutiny; a casual examination of Mr. Datta's Studies will convince everybody that a huge mass of literary and documentary records still remains to be sifted and utilised. It is needless to say that Mr. Datta has not attempted a systematic survey of the political and economic history of his province, but he has made a laudable effort to throw new light on some of the least known aspects of that history. His reconstruction of the social history, for instance, will prove of immense interest. He has satisfactorily proved that neither the fairer sex nor the humble castes, dubbed as "depressed" under the new dispensation, were either uneducated or uncultured. Anandamayī Guptā earned a unique



The relations between the two principal communities of the province seem to have been far from unfriendly, particularly in the rural area. Satya Pir was worshipped by Hindus and Muslims alike, and the rival faiths were not only tolerated but drew common devotees from both the communities. It is only in the court circle that religious differences were exploited for political purposes.

The major part of the present volume has been devoted to the East India Company, their factories in this province, their investment, their purchases and sales, their agents and officers; and the inquisitive student will find these chapters a



veritable mine of information. He may profitably study the main trade routes and highways as indicated in the chapter dealing with the economic condition of Bengal and note how many opulent marts and important market places have lost their trade and gone out of the picture.

Mr. Kalikinkar Datta has produced an excellent book of reference which will be widely appreciated in India and outside.

The 15th August, 1936.

SURENDRANATH SEN.



TO MY ALMA MATER



PREFACE

The middle of the eighteenth century forms an important epoch in the History of the Bengal witnessed great political changes, Subah. It pregnant with many significant issues for the future. With the accession of Allahvardi to the masnad of Bengal in 1740 began the rule of the really independent Nawabs of Bengal, as the Imperial authority at Delhi had by that time been practically reduced to insignificance. But weakening of the Imperial authority also gave birth to other circumstances which from the very outset marred all hopes of a progressive and peaceful government of independent rulers in Bengal. Thus the Marathas, among others, availed themselves of this opportunity to enter into the heart of Bengal, and for several years their plunderings made the pulse of Bengal beat with tremendous quickness. Just a few years after this storm had blown over the country, the destiny of Bengal received a new turn in the field of Plassey. Buxar strengthened what had begun with Plassey, and the results of these two battles indicated the gradual passing away of the old order of things and the birth of a new one, though presages of such a change had appeared already during the early eighteenth century.

viii

PREFACE

It is indeed highly important for us to know what the material, social and cultural conditions of the people of Bengal were during this transitional period in the country's life. Hitherto the history of our country has been mostly the history of its rulers, the conquerors and the military adventurers, the people themselves having been almost completely and consistently ignored. In this work I have tried to give an accurate, though rather incomplete, picture of the people's life, -the laws and customs of their society and their economic resources and transactions. In every age and clime, almost all the great movements in the world's history have been influenced by social and economic factors. Here also I have been able to show how the social and economic factors in the 18th century history of Bengal were greatly interrelated with the contemporary political changes.

The sources utilised for preparing this thesis may be classified under four heads, viz.:—

(I) Contemporary Literature, Bengali* and Sanskrit; (II) Works in Persian, some in original manuscripts and some in translations; (III) Records of the East India Company, both unpublished and published; (IV) Accounts and writings of contemporary European travellers and

^{*} I plodded through a mass of early Oriya and Hindi literary fragments, but unluckily I came across no materials useful for my purposes.



writers including memoirs and journals left by, them.

The materials collected from these sources have been carefully scrutinised and studied. It is perhaps for the first time that contemporary eighteenth century literature has been utilised for historical purposes, and also it is the first attempt to write a connected social history of the country during this momentous period in its annals, from a study of various sources. Social and Economic lives are influenced by each other. So, after dealing with the different aspects of social life I have endeavoured to study the economic condition of the Bengal Subah from the abovementioned sources.

Some unpublished sources have been here brought to light for the first time and the published ones, some of which had been already known to scholars, have been used here exhaustively after systematic and careful study. I have also duly recognised the value of incidental references to facts of Social and Economic Life in the pages of contemporary literature. Literature is often the mirror of the age in which it flourishes. A poet, a novelist or an essayist is bound to be influenced by the ideas and facts of contemporary life in its different aspects,—social, economic and political; and this influence is reflected through his writings. In fact, for a rational study of the history of our country,—its culture and social life, its economic



condition and its political life, the study of Indian Literature of respective periods is indispensably necessary.

The unpublished Records preserved under the custody of the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, form a veritable mine of information for a stude nt of Social and Economic History of Modern India. By 1927 Professor J. C. Sinha, Ph.D., utilised some of these records in writing his 'Economic Annals of Bengal.' In November of the same year Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., and Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, I. E. S., emphasised, in the report of the Records sub-committee, the value of those records for writing a "correct economic history of India under the Company." Since 1928 I have tried in my own humble way to study exhaustively those which have appeared to me to be relevant for my work and have been able to bring out many new and significant facts from papers like (a) Letters from the Council in Calcutta to the Court of Directors, (b) Letters from the Select Committee in Bengal to the Court of Directors, (c) Letters from the Court of Directors to the Council in Calcutta, (d) Letters from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee in Bengal, (e) Original Consultations, (f) Public Proceedings (copies of original consultations preserved in Proceedings Book), (g) Bengal Secret Consultations (Foreign Department), (h) Calendar of Persian Correspondence.



The Imperial Record Department has preserved Records regularly from 1748, but there are also for the period before 1748 copies (in typescript) of some Records of the India Office and these have been kept under Miscellaneous Records of the Home and Foreign Departments and under Section III of the Persian Department. As for example, the Letters from Bengal to the Court of Directors, 15th December, 1703 to 22nd December, 1748, which I have utilised for my work, are copies obtained from the India Office. In quoting extracts from the Records I have retained their original form in spelling and punctuation.

In the first chapter I have tried to describe the different aspects of social Life in five sections on the basis of the materials gathered from the abovementioned sources, mostly from Contemporary Literature.

The second chapter dealing with English Factories and Investments is based almost entirely on unpublished records of the Imperial Record Department and is original in every sense. No previous writer has written any account of the English Factories established through the different parts of the country, including the most interior ones, nor has any one studied before, in details, the nature, volume, etc., of the British East India Company's investments. This chapter contains many new facts of considerable importance from the standpoint of Economic History and will greatly supplement our knowledge of the East India

Company's Trade during the period under review. It has been divided into three sections; the first section deals with the general features of 'English Factories and Investments,' the second with investments from year to year, and the third section contains detailed histories of some of the important Factories.

The third chapter contains a description of the Commercial Relations of Bengal with the other Asiatic countries, with the other provinces of India and with the European Trading Companies. In the section on the Asiatic Trade of Bengal I have added much new information to what has been rather briefly referred to by Professor J. C. Sinha, Ph.D., in his 'Economic Annals of Bengal,' while my treatment of Inter-provincial Trade of Bengal is original, all the facts relating to it being newly discovered. In section 2, a detailed account of the British East India Company's trade in Bengal in the pre-Plassey period has been prepared for the first time from hitherto unutilised sources. Modern writers like Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. C. J. Hamilton, and Dr. J. C. Sinha have written something about the history of English trade in Bengal after Plassey; but my treatment of the subject has been more exhaustive containing many supplementary information based on a study of some new sources. The trade of the East India Company formed the most important factor in the economic and ultimately



political history of Bengal in the eighteenth century, and every bit of information relating to it is valuable for a student of Modern Indian History.

In the fourth chapter I have tried to describe the different aspects of the internal economic condition of Bengal in separate sections. The section on 'Communications' has been based mostly on contemporary accounts left by Rennel, Plaisted, Vijayarāma Senaviśārada and others. A knowledge of the state of communications within a country is indispensably necessary for understanding its economic condition which is very much influenced by the former. I do not find any reason to believe that the state of communications in eighteenth century Bengal was unsuited for commercial purposes of those days, and that there was anything like 'economic isolation' for want of means of communications. The improvements of the later 19th and 20th centuries should not lead one to ignore what existed in the 18th century. In section 2 of this chapter I have tried to describe the state of 'Manufactures, Industries and Handicrafts' with reference to the localities which were connected with these and on the basis of facts most of which were unknown before. Much has already been said by contemporary writers like Verelst, Bolts and others and by some modern writers like Mr. R. C. Dutt and Mr. C. J. Hamilton about the causes of the decline of cotton and other industries of Bengal during the second half

of the eighteenth century. I find that the root cause of this decline lay in the general political disorders of the time and that it had its beginning long before 1757. In fact, the pre-Plassey period of Bengal history left a legacy of economic decline. The continual wars, frequent rebellions and occasional conspiracies "wasted the whole country" (Rennel) and created opportunities for adventurers to exploit it for their own ends. Industries cannot flourish within a country in the absence of peace and order. The political revolutions in Bengal, which affected not only the rulers and the grandees but also the common people like the weavers and the agriculturists, exercised a pernicious influence on the industries of Bengal. I have carefully examined in relevant places the economic effects of the Maratha ravages, the Afghan rebellions, and the other political convulsions. In the two succeeding sections I have attempted to prepare connected accounts of 'Markets and Prices of Articles ' and ' Classes and Conditions of Labour.' It has not been possible to write these sections in such a comprehensive and connected manner as can be done in accounts of Indian Economic life of modern times, because we have no systematic state reports, documents and statistics for those days. But I am confident that I have utilised almost every original source for collecting bits of information relating to these topics. No one is more · conscious than myself of the various imperfections



of this work; and being a young devotee in the field of historical researches I crave the indulgence of the learned readers whose suggestions would be most thankfully accepted.

I take this opportunity of expressing my obligation to those who have helped me in the preparation of this work. I am especially indebted to Professor Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Head of the Department of History, Patna College. With great zeal and love he ungrudgingly guided me in my work from day to day, and helped me in all possible ways. I am grateful to Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., I.E.S., O.B.E., Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa, to Dr. H. Lambert, I.E.S., late Principal, Patna College, and to Mr. J. S. Armour, M. A., I. E.S., Principal, Patna College, who kindly encouraged me at every step, especially by introducing me to the Government Record Rooms in different places. Dr. Azimuddin Ahmad, Ph.D., Head of the Arabic and Persian Department, Patna College, and my friend and colleague Prof. S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L., Assistant Professor of History, Patna College, deserve my sincere thanks for the help that I received from them in the matter of utilising some original Persian manuscripts. I am much obliged to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., for having kindly lent me the use of his copy of 'Correspondance du Conseil de Chandernagor avec divers' and his transcript of a portion of

'Tarikh-i-Bangala' by Salimulla. My heartiest thanks are also due to Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, and his staff for the facilities they offered me in studying their records. I am much grateful to Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, to Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, M.A., Registrar, Calcutta University, and to Mr. A. C. Ghatak, M.A., Superintendent, Calcutta University Press, whose kind help has enabled me to bring out the book. My friend and colleague Prof. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, M.A., and my students Babu Brij Mohan Prasad, B.A., and Babu M. C. Samaddar, B.A., have kindly performed the tedious task of preparing the Index, for which I thank them sincerely.

The authorities of the following institutions too have laid me under a heavy debt of gratitude by allowing me to study their valuable collections:—The Oriental Public Library, Bankipore; Patna College Library; Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Library; Imperial Library, Calcutta; Vangiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta; the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; the State Library of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur; the Calcutta University Library; the Ratan Library, Suri (Birbhum District), and the Library of the late Prof. J. N. Samaddar, Patna.

PATNA COLLEGE,
PATNA
(BIHAR & ORISSA).

KALIKINKAR DATTA.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Seir = Seir-ul-mutakherin.

Ryaz = Ryaz-us-salatin.

Wafa = Muhammad Wafa, author of Waqai Fath Bangala.

I.R.D. = Imperial Record Department.

H.M. = Home Miscellaneous.

Abs. P.L.I. = Abstracts of Persian Letters issued.

C.P.C. = Calendar of Persian Correspondence.

Bl. St. Cons. = Bengal Secret Consultations.

I.H.E. = Interesting Historical Events.

B.E. = Basumati Edition.

T.S. = Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature.

J.A.S.B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.R.A.S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL LIFE

			PAGES
Section	I:	Education: Ideas and Insti-	
		tutions	1-28
Section	II:	Position of Women	29-52
Section	III :	Marriage Laws and Customs	53-74
Section	IV:	Dress, Ornaments, etc	75-91
Section	V :	Relations between the	
		Hindus and the Muham-	
		madans	92-106

CHAPTER II

ENGLISH FACTORIES AND INVESTMENTS

Section	1:	General Features		107-164
Section	II:	Investments	from year	ar to
CAR PAGE		year	•••	165-185
Section III:		Important Fa	actories	186-255

xx

CONTENTS

CHAPTER III

		COMMER	CIAL	RELATIO	ONS	
						PAGES
Section	I:	Asiatic	and	Inter-P	rovincial	
		Trade		•••		6-271
Section	II:	British I	East	India Co	mpany's	
		Trade		•••	27	2-367
Section	TIT .	Saltpetr	e Tr	ade	36	8-386

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITION

Section I:	Communica	ations	387-416
Section II:	Manufactur Handicra		ries and 417-439
Section III:	Agriculture	e	440-453
Section IV:	Articles Classes a	 nd Condit	454-474
Appendix:	А, В, С		502-511
Bibliography			512-528
Index			529-567



STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF BENGAL SUBAH

CHAPTER I

SECTION I

Education: Ideas and Institutions.

Life in every age and country varies greatly

Education dependent on private initiative and encouragement. according to the education that men receive. In the times of which we are speaking, Bengal did not possess any organised

system of University Education; there were neither any such traces of the good old days of Nālandā or Takṣaśilā nor any presages of the modern University Education. Education depended entirely upon private initiative and private arrangements, made largely under the patronage of the local Rajas and Chiefs, who encouraged learned men. Rāmeśvara wrote his Śivāyana in obedience to the orders of Rājā Yaśovanta of Burdwan; Anantarāma composed his Kriyāyogasāra under the

^{1 &}quot;Yaśovanta sarvaguņavanta tasya poşya Rāmeśvara tadāśraye kari ghara biracila Siva-sankīrtana."



orders of a noble man named Viśārada; ² Dvija Bhavāņī compiled his Rāmāyaṇa in the court of a prince named Jayacandra (who had his capital in a certain place near Noakhali) and got remuneration at the rate of Rs. 10 per day. ³ In order to encourage the cultivation of Sanskrit learning Raja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia fixed a monthly allowance of Rs. 200 to be paid as stipends to students who should come from distant places to

² The article "Bangabhāṣār upar Musalmāner prabhāb," by Dr. D. C. Sen in the "Vicitrā" of Māgha, 1335 B.S., p. 18. Cf. "The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals under the native Government.

Such a review would bring before us the liberal patronage which was formerly bestowed not only by princes and others in power and authority but also by the Zemindars or persons who had distinguished themselves by the successful cultivation of letters at those places."—Lord Minto's Minute on Sanskrit Colleges in Tirhut and Nadiya, 6th March, 1811, Long, Selections from Unpublished Records, p. 554.

3 "Jayacandra narapati Rāma itihāsa ati
Jatne se karila padabanda I
Dvijavara Bhavāņī āpanā sākṣāt āni,
Dine dine daśa mudrā dāna I"

—Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature, Part I, p. 583.

Compare the case of Rājā Jayanārāyaṇa translating the 'Kāśīkhaṇḍa' at an enormous cost in 1800 A.D.

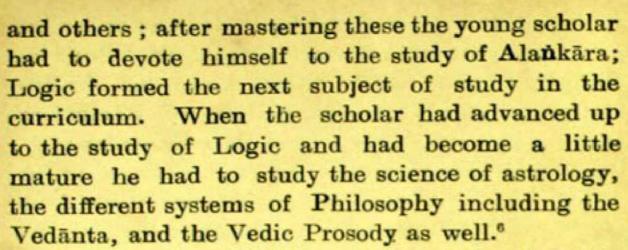


study in the tols of Nadiā. It was under his patronage that Bhāratacandra wrote his 'Annadā-mangala' and Rāmaprasāda wrote his 'Kālī-kīrtana' under the encouragement of Rājakiśora Mukhopādhyāya, a relative of Raja Kṛṣṇacandra.

The Hindus received their higher education in the Catuspāthīs, which could be Higher Hindu edufound in many important towns villages, and where the medium of instruction was Sanskrit. These Catuspāthīs were cosmopolitan in nature and welcomed teachers and scholars from different parts of the country. Rāmaprasāda has left a description of a Catuspāthī in Burdwan, where scholars from Drāvida, Utkala, Kāśī and Tirhut (Tīrabhukti or Mithilā) were assembled.5 This further shows that Dravida, Utkala, Kāsī and Tirhut were also centres of learning. Contemporary Literature supplies us with an account as to how a Sanskrit scholar had to pass through different stages in his educational career. His education generally commenced from his fifth year with a special auspicious ceremony and he was at first taught to practise letters; after the boy had a thorough acquaintance with the letters, he was introduced into the study of Grammar and works like Bhattīkāvyam, Raghuvamsam, Kumārasambhavam

⁴ Calcutta Review, 1872, Vol. IV, pp. 103-04.

⁵ Rāmaprasāda's Granthāvalī, p. 5 (Basumatī Edn.).



Side by side with this, scholars took interest in the study of vernacular literature and the names of Bhāratacandra, the court poet of Mahārājā Krsnacandra, of Rāmaprasāda Sena and of Rāmeśvara, the author of Sivāyana, have occupied important places in the history of Bengali literature. Almost about this time a few other valuable works were also produced in the Eastern part of Bengal. The writers of these works Study of vernacular belonged to one and the same literature. family and lived at Vikrampur (East Bengal). Of these Rāmagati Sena composed 'Māyātimiracandrikā' in Bengali and ' Yogakalpalatikā ' in Sanskrit; in 1772 A. D. Jayanārāyaņa and his niece Anandamayī

⁶ Rāmaprasāda's Granthāvalī, pp. 50-51 (Basumatī Edn.). We meet with similar descriptions in Mukundarāma's Kavikankana, Sāhitya Parisad Patrikā, No. 3, 1327 B.S. and in Mādhavācārya's Candī. The system described in Rādhāmādhava Ghoşa's Brhatsārāvalī seems to be more or less traditional.—Typical Selections, etc., Part II, pp. 1893-1894.



composed with mutual help the Bengali book, Harilīlā, and a few years later Jayanārāyaṇa independently produced a 'Candīkāvya' in Bengali.⁷

We have no full knowledge of the exact curriculum of education in vernacular but we find that almost every important Primary Education. village had a pāṭhaśālā, where the students received elementary education in Arithmetic and in some of the rudiments of physical and natural sciences. Craufurd observed, "There are schools in all the towns and principal villages. The masters are Brahmans. The place where the boys are taught is generally a pandal, or a room made of leaves and leaves of the palm tree. The boy sits on mats on the floor. The books are of leaves. Those who write hold in the left hand the book and in the other a steel bodkin with which they make a slight impression on the leaf. But

⁷ Bangabhāṣā o Sāhitya, p. 492. The author has mentioned a few other Bengali MSS. belonging almost to this period:—(1) Kāliyadamana, by Dvija Paraśurāma, 1761 A.D. (2) Kanvamunir pārāna, by Kṛṣṇadāsa. (3) Camatkāracandrikā, by Narottama Dāsa, 1145 B.S. (4) Manaśikṣā, by Girivara Dāsa, 1148 B.S. (5) Rāgamālā, by Narottama Dāsa, 1143 B.S. (6) Satyanārāyaṇa, by Dvija Rāmakṛṣṇa, 1141 B.S. (7) Sādhanakathā (prose work), 1158 B.S. (8) Sārasamgraha, by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, written 1185 B.S. (9) Harināmakavaca, by Gopikṛṣṇa Dāsa, 1165 B.S. (10) Hāṭabandanā, by Valarāma Dāsa, 1175 B.S.

they frequently begin by making letters and figures with their finger on sand spread on the floor, and sometimes learn to calculate with small shells and pebbles." 8 Subhankara, the renowned Hindu Arithmetician, flourished either towards the later part of the 17th or the earlier part of the 18th century, and it is quite probable that his system was taught in the pāṭhaśālās (village schools) throughout the 18th century.9 Mr. W. Adam, who had been commissioned by Bentinck in 1834-1835 to make a survey of education in Bengal, writes in his second report10:-"The only other written composition used in these schools and that only in the way of oral dictation by the master, consists of a few of the rhyming arithmetical rules of Subhankara, a writer whose name is as familiar in Bengal as that of Cocker in England without anyone knowing who or what he was, or when he lived. It may be inferred that he lived or if not a real personage, that the rhymes bearing

that name were composed before the establishment

⁸ Sketches of the Hindoos, Vol. II, pp. 12-13. Compare an almost similar picture in Ward's History of the Hindoos, 1818 A.D., Vol. I, p. 119.

⁹ Articles on "Subhankara" in "The Statesman," Sept. 9, 1928 and Octr. 2, 1928. I have collected two undated Bengali manuscripts of Subhankara's work; from handwriting it appears that they were probably written during the early part of the 19th century.

¹⁰ I.R.D.



of British rule in this country, and during the existence of the Musalman power, for they are full of Hindustani or Persian terms, and contain references to Muhammadan usages without the remotest allusion to English practices or modes of calculation." Sometimes, Arabic, Persian and Bengali were taught in one and the same pāṭhaśālā. There is a passage in the Bengali work 'Samaser Gāzir Pumthi' which tells us that the Gazi kept 100 students in his Tolbakhana. He brought a Maulavi from Hindustan for teaching Arabic to the boys, a Paṇḍit from Jugdea for teaching Bengali, and a Munshi from Dacca for teaching Persian.

This vernacular education was widespread; it appears that a sort of primary education was encouraged in every sphere of society, whether high or low, where people were glad and willing to enjoy its benefits and pleasures. Dr. D. C. Sen 12 says that he has in his possession a few Bengali manuscripts, belonging almost to this period (a few years before or after), which were written by men belonging to the lower strata of the society, —(i) 'Naiṣadha,' composed by Lokanātha Datta, the manuscript being written by Mājhi Kāyet in 1768 A. D., (ii) Gangādāsa Sena's 'Devayānī Upākhyāna,' written by Rāmanārāyaṇa Gopa in

¹¹ Typical Selections, etc., Part II, p. 1854.

¹² Bangabhāṣā o Sāhitya, pp. 397 and 450.



1778 A.D., (iii) 'Harivamśa,' translated by Dvija Bhavānanda but written by Bhāgyamanta Dhupi in 1783 A. D., (iv) 'Kriyāyogasāra,' translated from a portion of 'Padmapurāna,' by Anantarāma Sarmā but written by Rāghavendra Rāja in 1731 A. D. Madhusūdana Nāpita, who wrote his work 'Nala-Damayantī' in 1809 A.D., mentions that both his father and grandfather were famous writers.13 It is not possible to determine precisely the date of Madhusūdana's father and grandfather but when Madhusūdana could write in 1809 A.D., it seems quite possible that his grandfather had flourished towards the middle of the 18th century. There were other channels through which also the masses could receive a certain amount of enlightenment. Religious songs, sankīrtanas, popular tales and comic ballads were widely current in the society and always served to fill the minds of all classes of people with certain amount of ethical, aesthetic and intellectual tastes. These could be recited by men belonging to the lowest stratum of society with such an art as made it difficult to discriminate 14 between a man of

¹³ Ibid., p. 397. "It was possible for him, who was a servant of the Brahmins and was born in a barber family, to become a famous poet. His son Vāṇīnātha achieved renown throughout the world for his achievement, and his son and pupil Madhusūdana is glad at heart to hear of the glories of his master."

^{14 &}quot;Even those who watch the cows think of San-



letters and an illiterate man. It may be of interest to note that these men sought knowledge for religion, honest pleasure and for the uplift of the spiritual self and did not take to service by giving up their respective professions. Madhusūdana's grandfather did not give up his profession when he became a famous poet, and his literary grandson continued to be a barber.

I have studied a few Sanskrit and Bengali manuscripts ¹⁵ which throw some fresh light on our subject. All these were copied by one Vadanacandra Ghoṣa, an inhabitant of district Sudhārām. ¹⁶ These were all bound together in one volume, and look like a collection of text-books on different subjects. The second manuscript, which is in Sanskrit, is a book containing word-equivalents (a very ancient idea) for arithmetical numerals. There is no evidence as to the date of this work but it seems to have been composed long before the middle of the 19th century. It is

kīrtana; it is very difficult to distinguish between a paṇḍit and a man of lower class (cāṣā).—Rāmaprasāda's Granthāvalī, p. 5, B. E.

15 These manuscripts were discovered by me in the late Prof. J. N. Samaddar's collections, and I am highly indebted to his son Babu Makhanlal Samaddar, B.A., for his kindly permitting me to utilise these for my work.

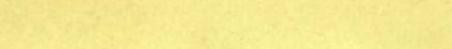
All the manuscripts end thus:-

"Āsalamatārtha nakala sākṣaranca Srīvadanacandra Ghoṣa Sakāvdā 1773/1 san 1258/1 Vāṅgālā vatārikh 3 Jāiṣṭha mokām jelā Sudhārām,"



probable that such texts for teaching word-equivalents for numerals were studied in the middle of the 18th century: Bharatacandra and others have given their dates in such words. 17 The third one is the famous book on Prosody named Srūtabodha, by Kālidāsa. From the fact that it was copied as a school text so late as the middle of the 19th century it seems clear that scholars did not lose touch with it throughout the preceding, i.e., the 18th century. The fourth one named Gangadasagītā is also a book on Prosody. From the first few lines of the book we know that it was written by a teacher Gangadasa for the benefit of young scholars.18 We do not know the date of Gangādāsa but from internal evidence in the text we gather that it was copied by one named Kāmadevaśarmā in 1651 Sakāvdā (i.e., 1740 A.D.).19 The fifth one named Brndavanayamakam, which is a poem with a beautiful description of Brndāvana, was similarly copied first by Kāmadevasarmā and recopied about 120 years later by

- 17 "Vede laye rşi base bramha nirupila ı Sei śake eai gita Bhārata racila ॥ "
- 18 "Devampraņamya Gopālam Vaidya Gopāladāsaja santoṣātanayaśchandogañgādāsatanotyeda santi yadyapi bhūāmśaśchandograntha maṇiṣīnām tathāpisāramākriṣya navakārtha-mamodyama."
- 19 The date of Kāmadevaśarmā has been clearly given at the end of manuscript No. 6 (Aşmaviveka):—
 "Srīkāmadeva Sarmaņa pustakamidam tatsākṣaranca śuvamastu Sakāvdā 1651/6/29."



Vadanacandra Ghoşa.20 The sixth one named Aşmaviveka (or 'Blockheads quickened'), by Gadasimha was also first copied by Kāmadevaśarmā and then recopied by Vadanacandra Ghosa. This work was intended to teach the boys the easy method of learning how to avoid mistakes in the spelling of words, -words beginning with or characterised by a particular letter being grouped together. Here words with 'S' 21 'S' 22 'S' 23 and 'ha' 24 have been arranged together. On the strength of the fact that these works, copied by Kāmadevaśarmā in 1651 Sakāvdā (i.e., 1730 A.D.), were recopied 120 years later by Vadanacandra, it may be asserted that these were studied with much care and interest by young Sanskrit students (cf. navakārtham mamodyama in MS. No. 4 and Siśubodhaye kathayāmi in MS. No. 6) during the period intervening between Kāmadeva and Vadanacandra. This also shows that the Sanskrit teachers

21 "Iti Gadasimha viracita Usyaviveka tālavsyakāra-

kathām samāptam."

Vaiśākha, 1258 B.S. and MS. No. 5 on the 22nd Vaiśākha, 1258 B.S. This shows the educational zeal of the person as well as the importance of the subjects copied.

^{22 &}quot;Iti murdhanyaşkāra kathanam samāptam."

^{23 &}quot;Iti danteyesakāra prakaraņa samāptam."

^{24 &}quot;Iti Srīgadasimhaviracitāşmaviveke hakāra kathanam samāptam."



of Bengal then took great pains in rewriting difficult Sanskrit texts for the benefit and convenience of young scholars. There is another manuscript which is a Bengali translation of Bhagavatīgītā (Chaps. 15-19) included in the Mahābhāgavatapurāņa. This manuscript does not bear the date of original translation, but from the concluding lines we know that the translator's name was Rāmaratana and that he was an inhabitant of Pāṭuliā in the Nadia district. 25 It was copied by the same Vadanacandra which shows that it was at any rate translated before his days. Thus the Vernacular renderings of the Puranas greatly popularised their study, by bringing them within the easy reach of ordinary readers. Ramaratana says that after labouring hard (day and night) for a month, he had finished his work which he regarded as an act of great piety and as a sure

"Nadiyā nāmete jilā tāhe thānā sunirmalā hmadāya āche vartamāna, tāhāra sāmila grāma sarvamānyajanadhāma Pāţuliā nṛpatira sthāna Dharmadātā Harināma āmāra vasatidhāma purvāpara ei sthāna pāiyā Varendra bhumira vāsa vahudina hai nāśa navamapuruṣa āmā diā tāhādera nāma jata tāhā āra kava kata varendra kulete janma hai Srī Rāmaratana nāma haribhaktimanaskāma devīgītā bhāṣāpadyekaya."



means of getting rid of the burdens of this world. Thus we see that men acting under religious convictions and with spiritual motives indirectly helped the cause of education. There is another manuscript named Yamasangītā which treats of the philosophy of human life. Here we meet with a vivid description of a man's course of lifehis birth in this world—his growth into youth and manhood, -his corruption in this world and utter neglect of religion and ultimately his dark fate and cruel torture in the hands of Yamarāja (the God of Death). Like the other manuscripts it was copied by Vadanacandra but we know from the concluding lines that the author's name was Sankara-The last but a very important one named Bhūgolavarņanā is a book on History and Geography. It deals with the Geography of the World in a synoptic and traditional Purāņic manner and is a summary text-book of the History of India drawn up in the same Purāṇic manner from the earliest times down to 1820 A.D., when it was last brought up to date, previous concluding dates traceable in the text being well known landmarks in the early 19th and middle of 18th centuries.27

^{26 &}quot;Gurukṛṣṇa Vaiṣṇavapada śirete dhariā kahen Sankaradāsa minati kariyā."

^{27 &}quot;Tähärapara eai Kalikätäräjadhänite Ingreji 1783 san avadhi vartamäna 1820 paryanta je je Governor arthät badasäheb haiäche tähär vivarana nice likhitechi."

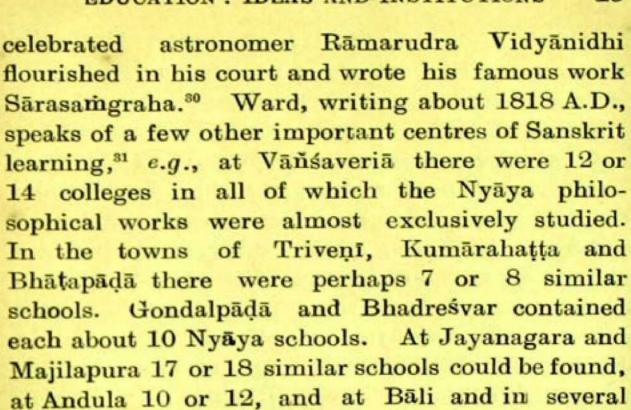
Among the places where the study of Sanskrit and Vernacular literature was encouraged, Nadiā, "the Oxford of the province," occupied the prominent position. "In truth Nadiya was the focus of intellectual development, the land of the Naiyāyikas who reasoned and argued on every conceivable topic, the abode of astronomers, whose pañjikas and almanacs still regulate the festivals and Pujas and the daily domestic concerns of the Hindus." ²⁸ Mahārājā Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadiā was himself a lover of art and literature and his court was adorned by a number of intellectual

luminaries (about 80), proficient in the different branches of know-ledge. The name of Bhārata-

candra has already been mentioned. The Mahārājā himself had a fair knowledge of Sanskrit and often engaged himself in the discussion of the subtle problems of Logic with Harirāma Tarkasiddhānta, Kṛṣṇānanda Vācaspati and Rāmagopāla Sārvabhauma; he tried to find out the truths of religion along with Prāṇanātha Nyāyapañcānana, Gopāla Nyāyālaṅkāra and Rāmānanda Vācaspati, and he was able to talk with Jīvarāma Vācaspati, Rāmaballabha Vidyāvāgīśa, and Vīreśvara Nyāyapañcānana about philosophy. Vāṇeśvar was his poet-laureate, along with whom he tried to compose Sanskrit verses.²⁹ The

²⁸ Calcutta Review, 1872, Vol. IV, p. 97.

²⁹ Kṣītīśavamśāvalīcarita, p. 49.



In Orissa a somewhat similar spirit of education and culture was in existence. Among the poets of Orissa who flourished during this age, the names of Upendra Bhañja, Rāmadāsa, Kṛṣṇa Simha, Sadānanda Kavisuryabrahma, Abhimanyu Sāmanta Simha and Braja Nātha Barajena, deserve mention. We have their writings in Oriya Vernacular Literature but some of them possessed knowledge in other provincial vernaculars too. Abhimanyu Sāmanta Simha "was a man of good education and knew Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindi and Bengali." 32 "His famous work Vidagdha Cintāmaņi was

other towns 2, 3 or 4.

³⁰ Vijayarāma's Tīrthamangala, pp. 202-03.

³¹ History of the Hindoos, Vol. I, p. 594.

³² Introduction to the Typical Selections from Oriya Literature, Vol. II, p. xxvi.

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²⁸ Calcutta Review, 1872, Vol. IV, p. 97.

²⁹ Kşītīśavamśāvalīcarita, p. 49.

celebrated astronomer Rāmarudra Vidyānidhi flourished in his court and wrote his famous work Sārasamgraha. Ward, writing about 1818 A.D., speaks of a few other important centres of Sanskrit learning, e.g., at Vānšaveriā there were 12 or 14 colleges in all of which the Nyāya philosophical works were almost exclusively studied. In the towns of Trivenī, Kumārahaṭṭa and Bhāṭapāḍā there were perhaps 7 or 8 similar schools. Gondalpāḍā and Bhadreśvar contained each about 10 Nyāya schools. At Jayanagara and Majilapura 17 or 18 similar schools could be found, at Andula 10 or 12, and at Bāli and in several other towns 2, 3 or 4.

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³¹ History of the Hindoos, Vol. I, p. 594.

³² Introduction to the Typical Selections from Oriya Literature, Vol. II, p. xxvi.



modelled after the Sanskrit work Vidagdha Mādhava, of the neo-Vaisnavite school." 33 juvenile works are (i) Sulakṣaṇā, (ii) Premacintāmaņi, (iii) Rasavatī, (iv) Prematarangiņī and (v) Premakalā and he began to compose verses when "he was quite a child." 31 Upendra Bhañja, who commenced his literary career by about the beginning of the 18th century, had also some though not a very sound education in Sanskrit.35 The writings of Rāmadāsa, the author of Dādhyātaka Bhakti, "disclose a degeneration of the Bhakti cult and morality finds no place in this religion of Bhakti. The lives of saints recorded in this book teach the curious lesson, that immoral acts are of no consequence if they are committed to entertain a guest, or to have a vision of God." 86

Education in Persian was apparently in a flourishing condition. For the Muhammadan people this was the only important medium through which they could receive education, and the Hindus as well sought to acquire some knowledge of Persian. As the language of the rulers, Persian had become the official language of the day, and many of the notable Hindus learnt Persian for securing posts

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid, p. xxv.



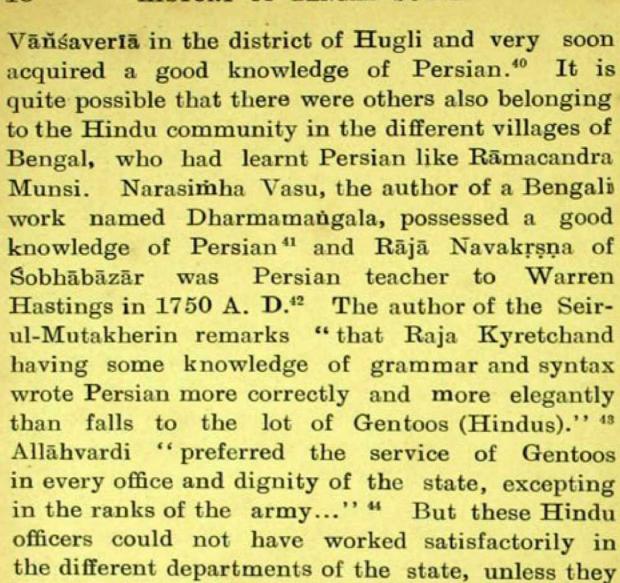
under the Government.87 With this object Rāmaprasāda Sena was sent by his father to a Maulavi, where by virtue of his superior intellect, he mastered Persian within a short time. A study of the chapter on "Mādhava Bhāta's journey to Kāncīpura'' in Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara supplies us with some examples of his knowledge of Persian and Urdu. 38 Such was the case with Bhāratacandra also. 39 At the age of fourteen, when he had acquired a good knowledge of Sanskrit and had married a girl of an Acaryya family of the village Sāradā near Tājpur in the Mandalghat paragana, his elder brothers rebuked him much for his wholesale devotion to the study of Sanskrit to the exclusion of Persian, the knowledge of which might stand him in a good stead in his practical life. This rebuke proved to be a blessing in disguise for him, as he soon went to the house of Rāmacandra Munsi, a Hindu Kāyastha of Devānandapura to the west of

³⁷ Introduction to the works of Rāmaprasāda Sena (B.E.); Navyabhārata, 1293 B.S. of the month of Agrahāyaṇa.

³⁸ Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 3 (B.E.).

^{39 &}quot;Yadi kiñcit tvam vadasi darajāne mana āyātkhosi Āmār hṛdaye vase prema kara khoṣa hoyke."

These two lines form part of a poem composed by Bhāratacandra in the mixed languages of Bengali, Sanskrit, Persian and Hindi (Works of Bhāratacandra, p. 181, B.E.).



⁴⁰ Introduction to the Works of Bhāratacandra, B.E.

⁴¹ Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 456.

⁴² Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1843, Vol. 7, p. 2200. Cf. "Srī Srī Mahārāja Bhupa Bāhādurera vālya kāla atita haiā kiśora kāla haihai pārsī bāṅgālāte sacchande or khoskhat akṣar haila......" Extract from Rājopākhyāna, by Jayanātha Ghoṣa, Typical Selections, etc., Part II, p. 1677.

⁴³ Vol. II, p. 114 (Cambray Edn.). Kyretchand was son of Rayrayan Alamchand.

⁴⁴ Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, Vol. II, p. 53.



had some knowledge of Persian. Thus we see that the knowledge of Persian had become a practical necessity for the Hindus of those days.

The Nawabs and the Muhammadan grandees were not devoid of a love of knowledge, and many of them were patrons of Persian language and literature. The Seir-ul-Mutakherin has supplied us with a list of learned men in the court of Allahvardi: 45 (1) Maulavi or Doctor Nassyr, a native of Shahpara and descendant of Shems-eddin "the complaint-promoter, whose tomb and monument are in great repute in the province of Oudh," (2) Daud-ali Khan, better known under the name of Zair-hossein-Khan, (3) Mir Mahmed Alim, one of the most virtuous and most venerable persons of Azimabad (Patna), as well as a disciple of Mirzamoezmoosevi-Khan, the poet, (4) Maulavi or Doctor Mahmed-arif, (5) Mirrustam Ali, (6) Shah-Mahmed-amin, who lived in celibacy, "a man much versed in the sense of the Coran and so very intelligent as to be inferior only to an angel,'2 (7) Shah-adhem, (8) Haiat-beg, (9) Shah-qhyzyr, a religious man of great distinction who lived in Sadpur, a town of the district Besarah, (10) Sayyidmir-Mahmed-Sedjad, or Mir-Mahmed, the Persoterner, who was a man of high virtues and merit.

⁴⁵ Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, pp. 165-75. Compare a similar account of the court of Nawab Safdar Jang in contemporary Oudh given in the same work.

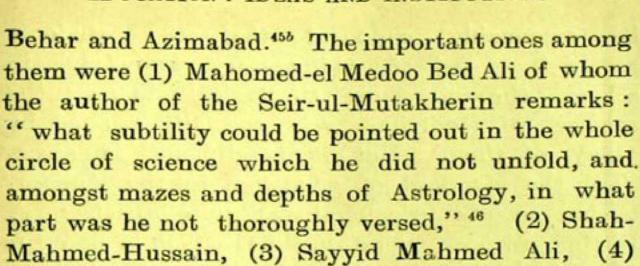


(11) Syed-alim-ullah, the grandfather of the author of the Seir-ul-Mutakherin, (12) Persian Famous Per scholars at Patna. Shah-haideri, a maternal uncle to Gulam Husain's paternal grandfather. This man died at Monghyr during the Nawabship of Mir Kasim. As in the case of Sanskrit education the premier place was occupied by Nadia, so in the case of Persian education the prominent place was occupied by Azimabad, though there were other less important centres of Persian education throughout Behar and Bengal. We have Gulam Husain Khan's testimony to this fact. He says, "There were in those times at Azimabad number of persons who loved science and learning and employed themselves in teaching and in being taught; and I remember to have seen in that city and its environs nine or ten professors of repute and three or four hundred students and disciples from whence may be conjectured the number of those that must have been in the great towns or the retired districts. Amongst those that flourised in the town of Behar, the Kazi Gulam Muzaffar, better known under the title of Muzaffar Ali Khan, was personally known to Allahvardi, who appointed him to the office of supreme judge of Murshidabad." 45a It was at this time that a number of men of merit and knowledge came to Hiudusthan from Iran and settled particularly in

45a Ibid., Vol. II, p. 175.

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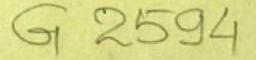
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Haji Bediuddin.

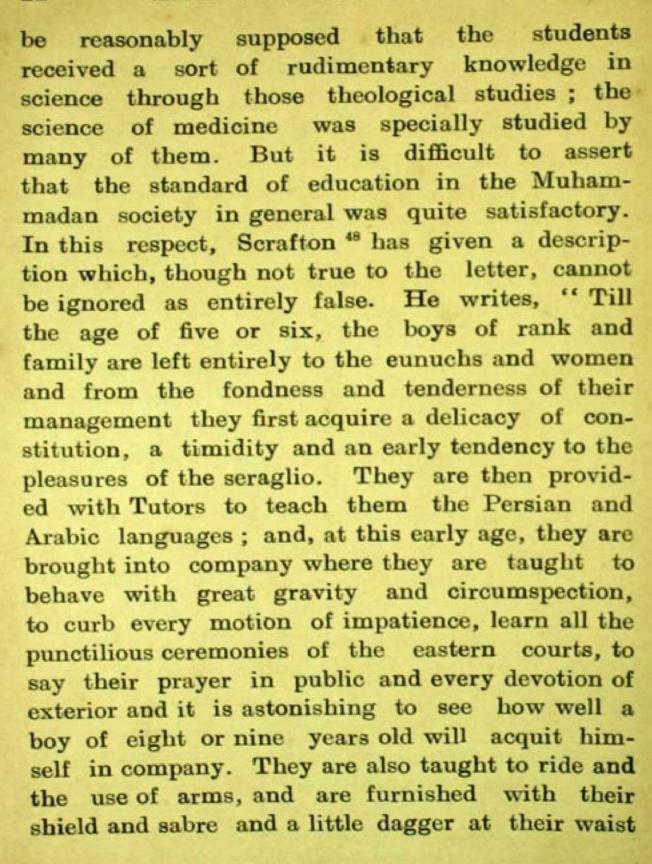
It is important for our purpose to know what the standard of education imparted through Persian was, and what the institutions and methods were through which it was imparted. Haji Mustafa, the translator of the Seir-ul-Mutakherin, has pointed out that the education of which the author of the Seir-ul-Mutakherin speaks so much perhaps included chiefly the study of Persian literature and Islamic theology. But this did not make up the entire curriculum. The author has every now and then referred to the cultivation of science and astrology. It may

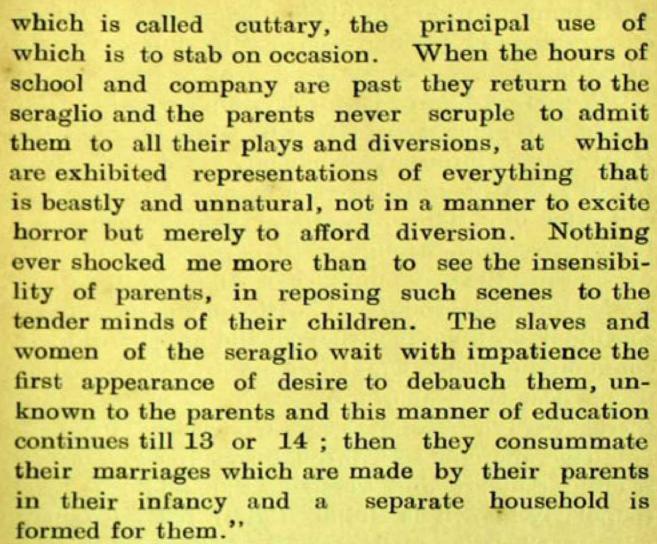
⁴⁷ Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 300. But astrology had ceased to be studied in a really critical spirit and the forms and ceremonies of it made people extremely superstitious.—Scrafton, Reflections on the Government of Indostan, pp. 16-17.



⁴⁵ b Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 175-85. A detailed account of each of these men is available in these few pages.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 176. This seems to be an exaggerated estimate of the man. However, we can safely assert that he was a man of erudition.





However, institutions for their education were not wanting. Gulam Husain has given us an account of a large number of students engaged in studies at Azimabad and elsewhere. There was not a mosque or imambarah in which professors of Arbic and Persian were not maintained. Maktabs sprang up wherever Musalmans predominated in number. While describing the state of indigenous education prior to 1835 Dr. Hamilton

⁴⁹ Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 175.

⁵⁰ Education Commission Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee, paragraphs 183-184.



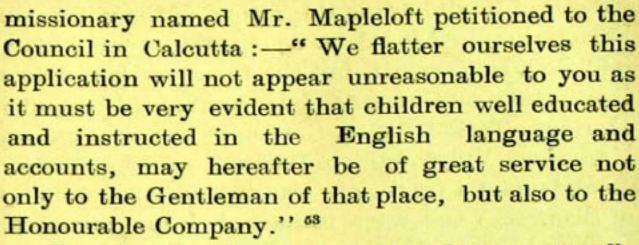
Buchanan mentions in his journals a large number of Arabic and Persian schools in different parts of Behar.

We do not know it for certain whether the people of Bengal were at this time anxious to Edward Ives learn any European language. writes: "Although there are many schools for the education of children, yet they seldom learn more than their mother tongue. It is indeed surprising considering the great number of English that are settled amongst them and with whom they have continual dealings that they should not be able in common to speak our language so well as the people near the seaports of Madagascar." 51 there were a few at least who learnt English language, more or less, through some means. After reading Sanskrit and Persian, Rāmanidhi Gupta (popularly known as Nidhu Bābu) read English with a Christian missionary.52 It is possible that Itsāmuddin, the author of Sagarfnamah, who was sent with a letter of representation to George III in England by Emperor Shah Alam after the Dewani, i.e., in the year 1766, knew English; otherwise he would not have ventured to undertake such a task.52a Most probably some of the Christian missionaries were trying about this time to teach English to the (native) 'charity boys.' In 1754 one

⁵¹ Edward Ives' Voyage, p. 29.

⁵² Nārāyapa, Jaistha, 1323 B.S., p. 739.

⁵²a Kujhuā Library copy of the manuscript.

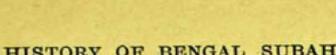


Female education was not unknown to the age. Vidyā, the heroine of Bhāratacandra's as well as Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, has been pictured as a woman possessed of good education. Her education, as it has been said, was so high that it enabled her to proclaim that she would marry him only, who could overpower her in debates. Ānandamayī, the niece of the poet Jayanārāyaṇa, was a poetess of fair repute and composed Harilīlā in 1772 along with her uncle. Ānandamayī was married at the age of nine to Ajodhyārāma Sena,

⁵³ Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of the Government, Vol. I, pp. 48-49.

[&]quot;The high-minded Virasimha became deeply anxious in heart as to how he could find a suitable match for his daughter, who was the best of all in beauty, qualities, pedigree and behaviour, and especially who was always victorious in intellectual discussions."—Works of Rāmaprasāda Sena, p. 3 (B.E.).

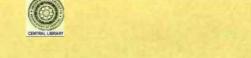
would overpower her in arguments and debates."—Works of Bhāratacandra, p. 63 (B.E.).



the son of Kavibhūşana Rūparāma, of the village of Payagrāma, in 1761 A.D. Ajodhyārāma was highly proficient in Sanskrit, but the fame of his wife's intellectual attainments had marred his repute. Harideva Tarkālankāra, the son of the well-known Kṛṣṇadeva Vidyāvāgīśa of Rājanagara, wrote out for -Anandamayī a treatise in Sanskrit on the worship of Siva. As the work contained some mistakes, here and there, she abused Vidyāvāgīśa Mahāśaya for his being negligent of his son's studies. Rājavallabha wrote to Rāmagati Sena asking for proofs of "Agnistoma" sacrifice and a diagram of the sacrificial altar, but as Rāmagati Sena was then very busy, these directions were written out by Anandamayī herself and were sent to Rājavallabha. 56 Rānī Bhavānī of Natore was, like Ahalyā Bāi of Indore, a well-educated lady.57 Ward wrote in 1818 A.D. that, a few years there lived at Benares a female philosopher "She was born in named Hati Vidyālankāra. Bengal; her father and husband were Kulin Brahmins;...the husband of Hati actually left her a widow. Her father also died; and she therefore fell into great distress. In these circumstances like many others who became disgusted with the world, she went to reside at Benares.

⁵⁶ Translated from D. C. Sen's Vangabhāṣā o Sāhitya, p. 494 (4th Edition).

⁵⁷ Calcutta Review, 1872.



Here she pursued learning afresh, and after acquiring some knowledge of the law books and other Shastras, she began to instruct others, and obtained a number of pupils, so that she was universally known by the name of Hati Vidyālankāra, i.e., ornamented with learning." 58 The wife of Yasovanta Rāya, a Brahmin of Nāsīpur, understood Bengali accounts and the wives of Rājā Navakṛṣṇa were famed for being able to read.59 Many female mendicants among the Vairāgiņīs and Sannyāsinīs had some knowledge of Sanskrit and a still greater number were conversant with the popular poetry in the dialects of the country.60 Muhammadan women also were given some amount of education.61 There flourished in Orissa, a few years later, a poetess of the name of Rānī Nissanka Rāi.62 Thus we see plainly enough that the women of the age were not universally

⁵⁸ History of the Hindoos, Vol. I, p, 699. For similar other instances vide B. N. Banerjee's Sambādapatre sekalera kathā and Sītānātha Tattvabhuṣana's Social Reform in Bengal.

⁵⁹ Ward, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 699. 60 Ibid.

Seradjeddoulla's father and in that of Alyvardy Khan's consort; who had made his fortune by marrying an orphan virgin in whose education that unfortunate grandmother had taken pleasure."—Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 242.

⁶ Majumdar's Typical Selections from Oriya Literature, Vol. II, Introduction.



steeped in the darkness of ignorance; in the distant corners of the villages there flourished female poets and writers, who can be regarded as worthy predecessors of their more educated sisters of the present day. It is not certain if there were any special institutions or arrangements for the education of the girls or whether they received their education in the same institutions with the boys.63 Most probably, the education of the girls was more a matter of private than public concern, as the age required them to be "ministering angels" rather than fair statesmen or orators, though we shall see that some of them were concerned in matters of state as well. It was under tutors, employed by their parents at home, that the girls received their education, which aimed chiefly at equipping them with the knowledge and materials necessary for an honest and happy domestic life in the world.

⁶³ We find instances of girls reading in the same institutions with the boys during the early 19th century. Autobiography of Rāsasundarī in D. C. Sen's Typical Selections, etc., Part II, p. 1768.

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SECTION II

Position of Women.

We have certain references about the position of women in the works of contemporary European writers. Mr. Dow writes in his 'Hindustan':—
"Women are so sacred in India, that even the

Remarks of contemporary European writers like Dow and Verelst. common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The Harem is a sanctuary against all the

licentiousness of victory; and ruffians covered with the blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apartments of his wives." Verelst, on the other hand, has drawn quite a contrary picture of the women of the age; but his conclusion seems to have been based more or less on isolated instances or practices amongst certain classes, rather than on a general and accurate survey of the social conditions of the whole country. He writes, "Women in the East are transferred with little ceremony, and whether they be wives or concubines, the men seldom await their consent. Were our laws of rape and rules of evidence enforced, one half of the males would incur the

¹ Quoted by Verelst in his "View of the Rise, Progress, etc., of Bengal," p. 138.

penalty of death." 2 He cites in his favour the case of Mir Jafar presenting Clive with many of Sirajuddowlah's women after the latter's defeat at the hands of the English. But the circumstances under which these women were presented were apparently unusual, for though Mir Jafar had been placed on the masnad of Bengal, still in reality he was busy in gaining the favour of Clive, to whose hands the key of the political destiny of Bengal had already been transferred. Moreover, Mir Jafar was himself a weak-minded moral wretch,3 and his treatment of women must have been something different from that of an ordinary man with some ideas of morality in him. We have other instances which would show that "women in the East" were not "transferred with

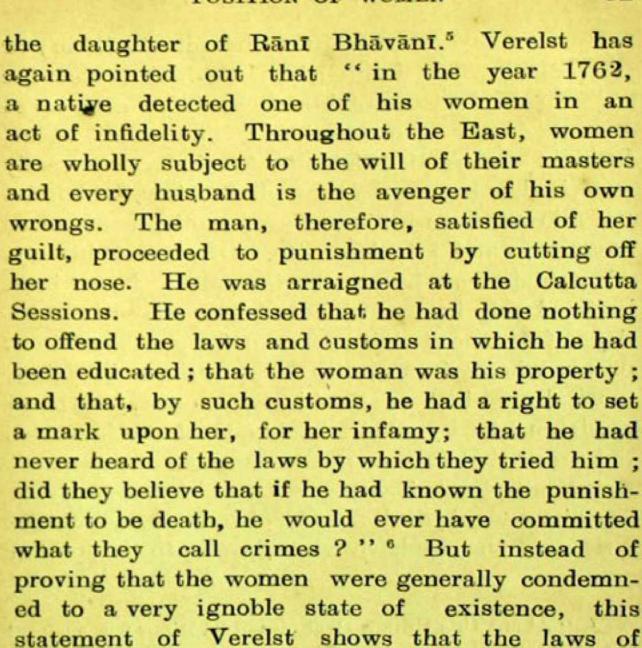
Women not "transferred with little ceremony,"—cases of Sarfaraj and Siraj. little ceremony." Sarfaraz Khan had to suffer in the long run for his having a look at the newly-married daughter-in-law

of Jagat Seth,4 and Sirajuddowlah was also amply paid back for his lust for Tārāsundarī,

² Ibid, p. 141.

^{3 &}quot;Towards the close of Nawab Mahabet Jung's rule, Mirjafar kept two women named Muni Begum and Baboo Begum. He loved them passionately but through fear of Aly Verdy kept the matter concealed."—Khulāsat-ut-Tarwārikh.

⁴ Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 495.



the country were severe for those women, who

⁵ Akṣaya Kumāra Maitra's Sirajuddowlah, pp. 80-81. The author writes in the foot-note that this story was collected from the late Rājā Umeścandra of Barānagar and has been published by a noted writer Viṣṇucaraṇa Caṭṭopādhyāya, in the old monthly magazine 'Navyabhārata' of 1298 B. S.; 'Sāhitya,' Māgha, 1304 B. S.

⁶ View of the Rise, Progress, etc., p. 25.



Strength of conjugal fidelity,—severe punishment for adultery.

committed any act of adultery or infidelitly, in which cases the punishment could go even up to mutilation.⁷ The man, when

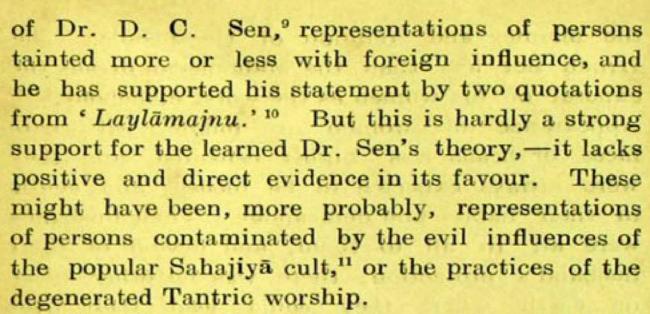
brought before the Calcutta Sessions, was really surprised to hear of a new kind of law, which did not allow him to inflict a heavy punishment on an adulterous and faithless wife. Of course, this sort of punishment by mutilation must have been inflicted only in exceptional cases. Even in these days of advanced civilisation such cases sometimes occur, when wives guilty of a serious breach of marital morality are subjected to heavy corporal punishments by their husbands, but that does not prove that in the present age the women are universally treated with cruelty and inhumanity.

The several dark female characters, which the writers of the age have drawn, were, in the opinion

⁷ "About this time a Brahmin of Sāntipur was accused before Rājā Kṛṣṇacandra of illicit intercourse with a daughter of a shoemaker. The Rājā excommunicated him from the society, and in spite of his appeal to the Nawab, the latter could not regain his former status."—Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, p. 417.

"In 1807 the "Tapta mukti' or ordeal by hot clarified butter took place before 7,000 spectators, of a young woman accused by her husband of adultery." C. R., Vol. VII, p. 423.

8 Hīrā in Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara; Vidu Brāhmaņī in Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, and others.



There is no doubt that "women were wholly subject to the will of their master." They were generally guided by the dictates of their husbands, and could not interfere in anything without their consent. They were kept confined within the limits of their houses and were not allowed to expose themselves publicly. Verelst writes: "the confinement of women is a law that cannot be changed. Throughout India the practice most certainly prevails, and is closely connected with

⁹ Bangabhāṣā o Sāhitya, pp. 461-62.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, pp. 27-28 (Basumati Edition).

^{12 &}quot;For a chaste woman her husband is the only support in this world."—Bhāratacandra, Gopāla Udera Gāna, p. 229 (B.E.); "the life of a woman is not good; she is always dependent and has to bear the burden of others."—Ibid, p. 222.

the manner and religion of the people. The Hindu not less than the Mahomedan dreads the exposal of his women as the worst dishonour." 13 Appearance of women in public, with bare faces or heads was highly censured, and they were always expected to be modest and gentle in their habits and demeanour. Their husbands were all in all to them, and devoid of their husband's protection, there was no other place on earth where they could lead their lives honourably and happily, not even in their paternal homes.14 They could not go to their father's house without the consent of their husband. In a contemporary Bengali manuscript, named 'Bhavānīmangala" by Gangānārāyaņa, the poet indirectly hints at this feature of the social life of the day. We find there that Girirāja expressed a keen desire to take Gaurī to his house and said, "My daughter, do what you now think

Verelst, op. cit., p. 188. "How is it that in our society a young woman is not veiled." Rāmaprasāda's Padāvalī, p. 115 (B.E.); Grose. Voyage to the East Indies. Vol. I, p. 240.

of having your mother's love, but your sister-in-law will always want to drive you away; the father does not make any enquiries, nor does the mother speak sweetly, if they find (their daughter) unfortunate in her marital relations."—' Jayāra Upadeśa' in Bhāratacandra's Annadāmangala, p. 26 (B.E.).

proper." At this Gauri replied that she could not go without Siva's consent; quite evidently, Siva, Gauri, Girirāja and Menakā, of Bengali religious poetry of the 18th century, are reflections of the average son-in-law, daughter and parents-in law of actual contemporary Bengali society. 15

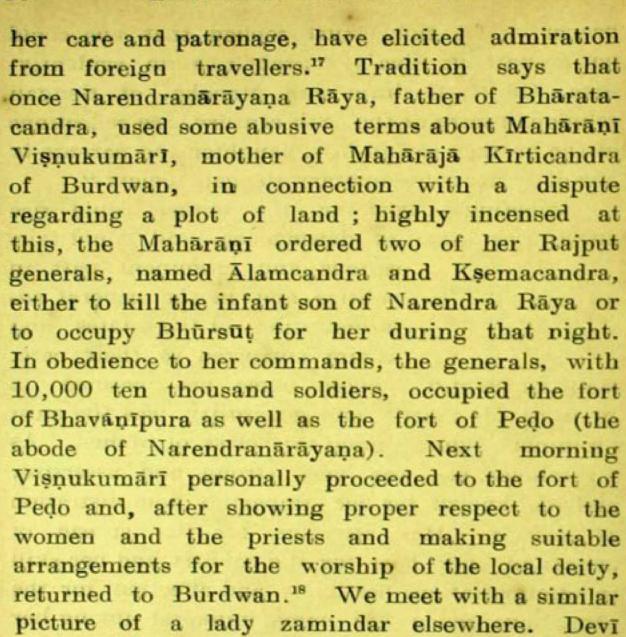
Sometimes, however, the women could rise above this state of dependence, and could take

Women occasionally took part in political and administrative affairs. serious and prominent part in politics and in the general administration of the estates and affairs entrusted to their care.

Rāṇī Bhavāṇī, 16 whose name has become a by-word for charity and generosity, was the most prominent figure among this class of women. As a zamindar, she was very strong and assertive, and was known for her impartial administration of justice. Her attempts for the spread of education, her love for the country and her skill in administration, her piety and affection for the poor, have made her name immortal among her countrymen. The temples that were built under

¹⁵ The manuscript "Bhavāṇīmaṅgala," by Gaṅgānārāyaṇa is one of the most valuable works of that age. It has been preserved with much care in the Ratan Library at Suri by Babu Sivaratan Mitra, who took great pains in restorting it.

^{16 &}quot;Rani Bhavani is a heroine among the Bengalees."—H. Beveridge. Compare Ahalyā Bāi in contemporary Indore.



Bhavani spent the last years of her life, and where she died. She built some remarkable temples here. In size or shape, they are ordinary enough, but two of them are richly ornamented with terracotta tiles, each containing figures of Hindu gods very excellently modelled, and in perfect preservation."—H. Beveridge.

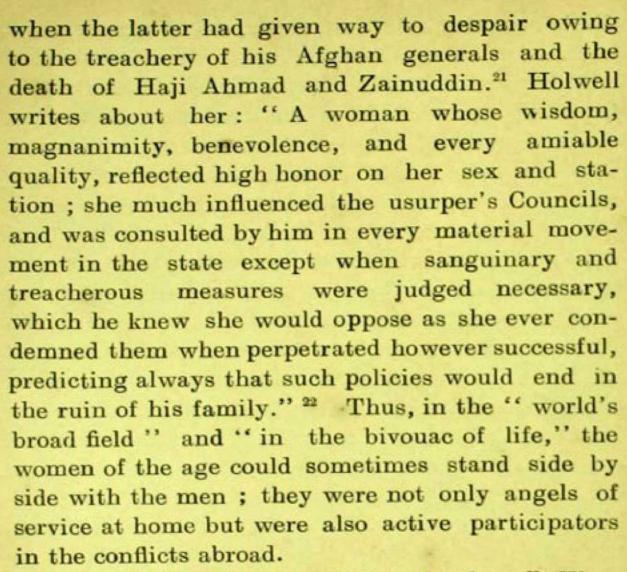
¹⁸ Introduction to Bhāratacandra's works published by the New Victoria Press.



Simha, a zamindar in a part of Rungpur, had become so oppressive that the other zamindars and his own ryots revolted against him. The leader of this revolt, as the poet-chronicler says, was a woman-zamindar of the name of Jayadurga Caudhurānī., We meet with a few such characters amongst Muhammadan women also. "The exhortations of Doordaneh Begum, the wife of Murshidkuli, the Governor of Orissa, to fight against Aly Verdy, as well as the appearance of the Begum of Aly Verdy with Aly Verdy on the battlefield, show that the Muhammadan ladies also took part in politics and state affairs, and that they had not all succumbed to the prevalent form of seclusion. Aly Verdy's Begum played the role of a supreme political officer in Bengal whilst her husband fought the battles with the Maharattas." 20 She encouraged her husband

Literature, Part II, pp. 1413-18: "The leader of this conspiracy was Jayadurgā Caudhurāṇī, a woman of much intelligence and spirit..........."—Ibid. We can compare with this the character of Devī Caudhurāṇī, who took the leadership of a native revolt against the Company, in the days of Warren Hastings. Hastings had at first thought too lightly of her movements, but when her soldiers attacked the house of a rich merchant in Calcutta, he was awakened to the seriousness of the rising and took proper measures for its suppression.—Sāhitya, Jaiṣṭha issue, 1805 B.S.

²⁰ Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 329, footnote 1; Stewart,



The art of music was cultivated by them.23 They

History of Bengal, p. 511. Zebunnisa, the Begum of Nawab Shujauddin, took an active part in the Government of her husband. It was she who invested Allahvardi with a khelyat and with the patent for the Deputy-Governorship of Behar.—Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 282.

Holwell, I. H. E., p. 170; Seir-ul-mutakherin,
 Vol. II, p. 11.
 I.H.E., pp. 170-71.

23 "After combing her hair and putting on a fine dress, she engaged herself in witty jestings, and in singing songs with her companions."—Bhāratacandra, op. cit., p. 167 (B.E.); Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 39.



were sung in tune with these. 24 At a marriage ceremony the women had to sing some auspicious songs in connection with several women's rites, and this required no doubt practice and general cultivation of music to a certain standard. 25 The fact that Anandamayī, who belonged to this age, could herself compose the opera "Umāra Vivāha," adds further evidence of musical training amongst women. The musical instruments used at that time, were 'rabāb,' 'tānpurā,' 'vīṇā' (lute), 'moracangā' and 'mandirā,' 'kapināsa, 'saptasvarā' (a kind of lute) and 'parivādinī vīṇā.' 26

In family life, the mistress of the household occupied a very important position. A good and pious mistress served as a ministering angel to her family and a bad and impious one was an evil

²⁴ "At Vidyā's words her companions began singing songs and playing on musical instruments."—Bhāratacandra, op. cit., p. 79 (B.E.).

²⁵ "Go and invite the women of the locality for celebrating the women's rites and for singing auspicious songs."—Umāra Vivāha by Ānandamayī, vide Typical Selections, etc., Part II, p. 1872.

[&]quot;There was a sound of conch-shells, bells, and lutes, and the women were singing sweet songs."—Rāmāyaṇa, by Dvija Bhavāṇī, vide Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 583.

^{26 (}a) Jayanārāyaņa Sena's Harilīlā.

⁽b) Bharatacandra, op. cit., p. 79 (B.E.).

star settled on the fortunes of that family. A bad wife was looked upon as a cause of unhappiness to her husband. An ideal ('uttamā') wife was one who was always solicitous for her husband's welfare, though the latter might commit something wrong; next to her ('madhyamā') in merit was she who returned good for good and evil for evil to her husband; but one who returned evil for good done by her husband was a bad wife ('adhamā'). A wife who became angry with her husband without rhyme or reason was nicknamed a 'Candī Nāyikā' (Lady Fury).

The position of a wife in a Hindu joint family was interrelated with the interests and the comforts of its other members as well. She had her duties not only to her husband but also to each and every member of her family; and a husband, who regarded his wife as an object of personal enjoyment and comfort only, was looked upon as violating the sacred ties of a joint family. In this connection we can very well compare the instructions that Vidyā, the heroine of Rāmaprasāda's

Vidyāsundara, received from her mother, when

the former was going for the first time to her

father-in-law's house: " My darling! as it is a

²⁷ "He, whose wife is wicked, is dead even in his lifetime; he should retire to the forest."—Bhāratacandra, op. cit., p. 25 (B.E.).

²⁸ Ibid, p. 169 (B.E.).

custom, so I speak a few words unto you. Try to be like unto the superiors of your family, and serve them to their satisfaction. She, who has kindness for her fellow-beings, becomes the mistress of the house." 29 It would not be proper to suppose that the girls, after their marriage at a comparatively early age, were thrust the severe duties of a practical life amidst without any previous training or equipment. The innocent amusements and diversions of their early days, in the course of which they very often created a mimic world of their own, served to sow in their hearts the seeds of the higher duties of a household life. We find a very real picture of this 'play-way' in the writings of a contemporary poet :- "Princess Umā was in the company of her playmates of equal age, Jasodā, Rohinī, Citralekhā and others. Being pleased at heart, she had taken her seat in the midst of all and had made a temple of clay under the 'Bakula' tree. Along with Jaya and Haimavatī, who had prepared ovens with red earthen pots and red fuel, she was busy cooking nicely. After preparing rice of dust. Gaurī served it to all. They did not really eat anything and only touched their mouths with their hands. They finished washing their mouths without real water, and asked for betel. She prepared beds of Kadamba leaves, and they went to bed

²⁹ Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 49 (B.E.).

amidst great merriment, a pair of friends lying down in each bed.....Some of them swept the ground and besmeared it with water and cowdung, as if it were the family of a householder." The last phrase of this passage is significant, and the accuracy of the description shows that this picture was really drawn from the family life of contemporary society. 50

When a woman became pregnant, a special ceremony was arranged for her on an auspicious day. She was dressed in new clothes and was presented with offerings of felicitation (sādh-bheṭ) amidst the rejoicings of the members of her family. The

30 Dharmamangala, by Sahadeva Cakravartī, Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 482.

There is no doubt that this was a traditional feature of Hindu family life, and we find a poet of the 10th century A.D. writing in the same vein:—

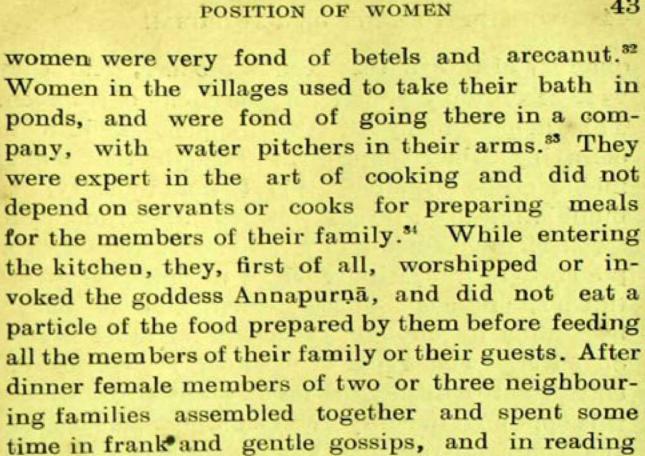
Wife—"I will go to your country. my lord, but ill will it fare with me, when I am in need of apparel."

Husband—" In my fair city, a colony of weavers will I found for you."

Wife—"I will go with you, my lord, but who will be my brothers and sisters there."

Husband—" My brother and sisters will, my darling, be brothers and sisters unto you."—Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 171.

31 "Give her sādh-bhet,—she has become pregnant."— Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 21 (B.E.); Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 11.



which they afterwards sold to engaged Women the weavers. "Their income in spinning and weaving. varied with the quality and

religious books or books of stories and fables. Some

of them engaged themselves in spinning yarn

and twist by means of "tākus" or "carkās,"

^{32 (}a) "With the mouth full of betel and arecanut. and with a necklace round the neck."-Bhāratacandra, op. cit.

⁽b) "Flies flit before her mouth devoid of the fragrance of betels."-Bhāratacandra, op. cit., p. 54 (B.E.).

^{33 &}quot;At that moment the women of the village came to take their bath in a company."-Bhāratacandra. op. cit., pp. 66-67 (B.E.); Vijayarāma's Tīrthamangala, p. 223.

^{34 (}a) Bhāratacandra, op. cit., pp. 132-33.

⁽b) Gangānārāyaņa's Bhavānimangala: "Some were engaged in cooking, some in boiling the milk, etc."



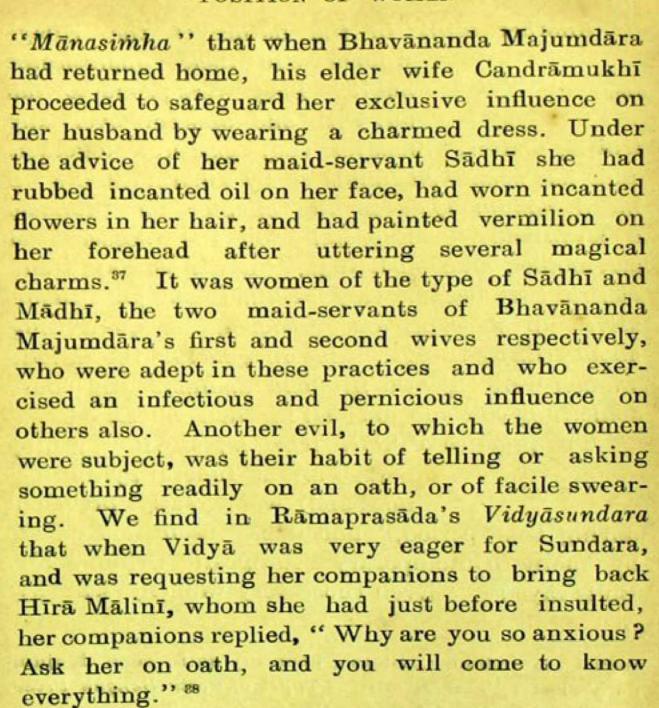
quantity of thread they could produce, and they were accordingly praised in the circle of women. This helped many of the indigent families in defraying their expenses. Though the higher middle classes regarded this (home industry) as humiliating to their rank, yet their womenfolk spun a considerable amount of twist and yarn under the pretence of preparing their own clothes or sacred threads, and could amass a small sum of money by selling it through the agency of other women of lower social rank." 35 Thus, it was in the cottages of the poor, the needy and the infirm, that this spinning industry was more in vogue than in the comparatively thriving homesteads of the higher middle classes or the establishments of the rich. 86

There were certain obnoxious customs prevalent among the women of the age.

Obnoxious customs They believed in the efficacy (harmful or beneficial) of incantations and charms, and those who were disappointed in their love, or were in disfavour with their husbands, tried to exercise or establish their influence by means of these. We find in Bhāratacandra's

³⁵ Ksitīśavamśāvalicarita, p. 37.

woman Jaya, who was spinning thread in the late hours of the night."—Dharmamangala, by Narasimha Vasu, vide Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 473.



³⁷ Bhāratacandra, op. cit., p. 128 (B. E). Cf. "In connection with medicinal charms, Mukunda says that a powerful medicine does not overpower the old."—
Kavikankana Candi.

We should note that men also were not free from this habit. "If the letter does not arrive here on the 3rd

³⁸ Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 12 (B.E.).

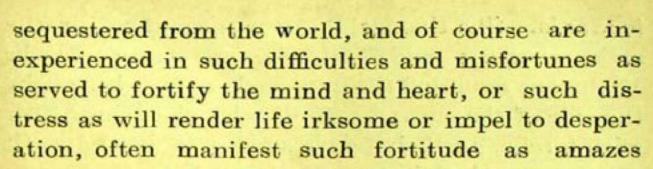


Another taint in the nature of the village women was their quarrelsome Their quarrelsome habit. They were prone to fall habit. out with one another over any trifling matter, whenever they gathered together. This has been well hinted at by Bhāratacandra in his Annadāmangala in the chapter on 'Kondala o Sivaninda.' 89 Especially on the occasion of ceremonies like marriage, 'new-rice day,' and others, they became very fastidious and gave themselves up to capricious criticisms, or quarrelling about trifling things. But in general the Hindu women were "gentle in their manners and have something soft and musical in their voices." 40

The practice of 'Satī' (that is, a wife burning herself on the funeral pyre of her hus band) was greatly prevalent during this period, and it has been referred to by many contemporary European writers. Mr. Bolts says: "Even those very women, who live

then I am undone ;...please, upon my oath, send Majum-dāra's letter.''—S. R. Mitra, Types of Early Bengali Prose, pp. 115-117; Nandakumāra Carita, pp. 32-38.

- 39 Bharatacandra, op. cit., pp. 19-20 (B.E.).
- 40 Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 50.
- 41 (a) "Rati was about to burn herself as a 'Satī' in the burning fire, when she heard a voice from heaven."—Bhāratacandra, op. cit., p. 17 (B.E.).
- (b) "I shall presently die with you by burning the pyre and entering into it."—Rāmaprasāda, op. cit., p. 65 (B.E.).

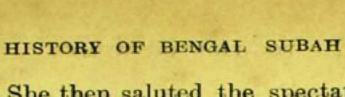


Remarks of contemporary European writers about it. Europeans but to hear of, in the horrid deaths which they voluntarily brave, of burning alive

with the dead bodies of their husbands in funeral pyres." 42 Craufurd 43 has given a thrilling description of the manner in which the women burnt themselves :- "A funeral pile being erected on a piece of ground that was consecrated to the purpose, the body of the Raja was brought from the fort, accompanied by many Brahmins and others and followed by the widow attended by relations of both sexes. Being arrived at the funeral pile, the body was placed on it, and certain ceremonies being performed, the widow took leave of her relations. But she was perfectly composed, smiled and endeavoured to comfort them. She then advanced to the pile, and in a solemn manner walked round it. She stopped; and after contemplating the corpse, touched the feet with her hand and raised it to her forehead, inclining her body

⁴² Bolts' Considerations, p. 7.

⁴³ Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 1718. We find an almost similar description in Stavorinus, Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, pp. 441-50.



forwards. She then saluted the spectators in the same manner; and with the assistance of the Brahmans mounted the pile, and seated herself by the side of the corpse. Some who stood near her with torches in their hands set fire to it, and as it was composed of dry wood, straw and other combustible materials, it was instantly in a flame." The Brahmins and the priests took an important part in such 'Satī' sacrifices.44 "Such a devoted woman," when about to offer herself as a Satī, was not allowed to be touched and thus defiled by a non-Hindu: the Dutch Director Sichterman (1744) "was obliged to pay twenty-five thousand rupees, for an imprudence of this kind, which he had been guilty of." 44a The courage and fortitude with which the widows, unperturbed in the least by considerations of worldly enjoyments, offered themselves up in such ghastly sacrifices, were extraordinary.45 These sacrifices, so shocking to humanity, however, demonstrated the strength of conjugal fidelity.46 Scrafton remarks: "Another

⁴⁴ Ives' Voyage, p. 23.

⁴⁴a Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 448-49.

[&]quot;Such is the influence of customs and the sense of shame that a woman of the highest birth will undergo this awful sacrifice with as much fortitude and composure as ever were exhibited by any hero or philosopher of antiquity."-Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 15-16; Bolts' Considerations, p. 7.

^{46 &}quot;A woman desires to get her husband's body. It is

circumstance that contributes to form their general character, is their marrying when infants; and yet no women are more remarkable for the custom of burning with their husbands. Many authors ascribe this to have been instituted to prevent their wives poisoning them; but I am well persuaded they often submit to it by a nice sense of honour and conjugal affection." 47 The Dutch traveller Stavorinus, who witnessed a Satī case at Chinsurah on 25th November, 1770, writes that the woman "underwent everything with the greatest intrepidity and her countenance seemed at times, to be animated with pleasure, even at the moment when she was ascending the fatal pile." 47a paid particular "attention to her in order to discover whether any convulsive motions agitated her feet, but they remained immovable in the midst of conflagration. Compulsion might have been sometimes used, but that was, remarks the same writer, " seldom necessary as they possess sufficient enthusiasm willingly to devote themselves to this horrible death." He also refers to the case of the wife of a rich Bengali broker of the Dutch East India Company gladly offering herself as a Satī, though her husband had been a veritable debauchee and

proved by the fact that she burns herself with her dead husband."—Bhāratacandra, op. cit., pp. 22 (B.E.).

Pp. 110-11.

⁴⁷a Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 448.

had left her company; she refused to obey the instructions of her friends and relatives who tried to dissuade her from the act on the ground that her husband "had used her so ill in his lifetime." 476 Thus it would be wrong to suppose that in all cases women sacrificed themselves under the pressure of social conventions and the expostulations of the priests and their relatives. five o'clock in the morning of the 4th February, 1742-43, died Rhaam Chand Pandit, of the Moharatta tribe, aged twenty-eight years. His widow (for he had but one wife), aged between seventeen and eighteen, as soon as he expired, disdaining to wait the term allowed her for reflection, immediately intimated to the Brahmins and witnesses present her resolution to burn. As the family was of no small consideration, all the merchants of Cossimbazar and her relations,48 left no arguments unessayed to dissuade her from it. But she listened to none, and her friends finding her thus peremptory and resolved, were obliged at last to assent." 40 She had to wait till the Faujdar's permission for her burning had been received. Here it is interesting to note that the state had already

⁴⁷ The pile of sandalwood that had been erected for this body was calculated to be worth £633 sterling.

⁴⁸ Thus some of the Maratha families had by this time settled in Bengal.

⁴⁹ Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 19.

adopted some measures to prevent forcible and involuntary cases of such sacrifices.50

There were, however, particular circumstances in which the practice of Satī was forbidden. The burning of a pregnant woman was not allowed by the Śāstras,51 and when the husband died at a distance from his wife she could not burn herself, unless she could procure her husband's girdle and turban to be placed on the funeral pile. 52 Scrafton remarks that "the practice (of Satī) was far from common, and was only complied with by those of illustrious families." 53 Stavorinus notes that it was prevalent among "some castes." 53a Sometimes, temples were erected on the spot where one of those sacrifices had been performed. Craufurd says that he had seen one of those places, "where the spot on which the funeral pile had been erected was enclosed and covered with bamboos, formed into a kind of bower planted with flowering creepers. The inside was set round with flowers, and

from Hasseyn Khan, Fouzdaar of Murshidabad, until after one, and it was then brought by one of the Soubah's own officers who had orders to see that she burnt voluntarily."—Ibid, p. 21.

^{51 &}quot;Nahe Sāstra sammatā sasatvā sahamṛtā."— Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 83 (B.E.).

⁵² Craufurd, op. cit., p. 16.

⁵³ Reflections on the Government of Indostan, p. 11.

⁵³a Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 441.

at one end there was an image." The practice of burying the wife with the dead body of her husband was prevalent among some. 55

It would be interesting to note that attempts

Attempts for two social reforms,—abolition of ekādasibrata and introduction of widow-remarriage.

were made at that time to reform two social customs concerning widows. One was an attempt made by Rānī Bhavānī who was

much pained at her daughter's widowhood, to remove the rigours of the 'Ekādaśībrata' (fasting of widows on the eleventh day of the moon); ⁵⁶ but it failed owing to the opposition of the pandits. About the other attempt, the author of the Kṣitīśavamśāvalīcarita has noted on the strength of tradition that Rājā Rajballabh of Vikrampur (Dacca), whose daughter had become a widow at an early age, tried in 1756 to introduce widow-remarriage. ⁵⁷ His proposal received the sanction of many paṇdits; but it failed ultimately as Rājā Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadiā turned the opinion of the paṇdits of his court against it.

⁵⁴ Op. cit., pp. 32-33.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 37; Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 441 and 451.

^{56 &#}x27;Sāhitya', Fālgun, 1804 B.S.

⁵⁷ Calcutta Review, 1855. The Bengal Spectator, July 1842, p. 51.

CINTRAL LEGARY

SECTION III

Marriage Laws and Customs.

It was the duty of the parents to marry their sons or daughters according to the established laws and customs of the society. They celebrated the 'karnabedha' ceremony of their boys, when the latter were 5 or 6 years of Karnabedha ceremony. age.2 The boys then had their ears pierced with a needle and thread and the family preceptor performed many other accompanying rites. The match-makers 3 played an important part in settling the marriage terms. They were Match-makers and engaged by the parents to find Bhāts. out suitable bridegrooms brides for their children, and received rewards on discharging their duties.4 Sometimes, the royal or

^{1 &}quot;If a Hindu acquires merit by karnabedha."— Bhāratacandra, p. 117 (B. E.).

² "The karnabedha (ceremony) was celebrated in the fifth year."—Rāmaprasāda, p. 50 (B. E.).

^{3 &}quot;Go to Himālaya as a match-maker and settle the marriage between Umā and Sankara."—Ibid, p. 16 and Bhāratacandra, p. 14 (B. E.).

^{* (}a) "The Thakura got riches after the match-maker had received his share."—Bharatacandra, p. 57 (B. E.).

⁽b) "Hîrā said that the match-maker was to be rewarded afterwards."—Rāmaprasāda, p. 18 (B. E.).

rich families sent 'Bhāts' for such purposes and these 'Bhāts' used to sing verses alluding to the heroic and noble deeds performed by the members of the families by which they had been engaged,6 at the courts of other princes and nobles, and being themselves very clever fellows, they performed the task, commissioned to them, most satisfactorily. These intermediaries having practically settled the terms of marriage, the parents or other guardians of the would-be couple met together, and after a due exchange of courtesies, settled the terms by a formal deed of contract Settlement of terms (lagnapatra), which was kept and lagnapatra. with the father of the bridegroom who took it with him at the time of the marriage.

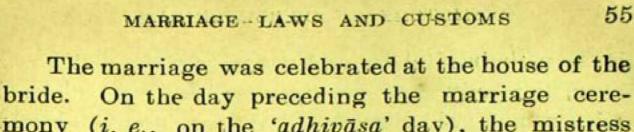
^{5 (}a) Cf. the chapter on 'Vidyāra pātra aņveşaņe Mādbava Bhāţera Kāñchīpura gamana' in Rāmaprasāda, p. 3 (B. E.).

⁽b) 'The Bhāt went with your words of promise.'— Bhāratacandra, p. 77 (B. E.).

⁶ Note 5. About these 'Bhāṭs.' vide 'Introduction to the Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts in the C. U. Library.' Vol. I, XIX-XX, and the address delivered by late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee at the Annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1913, and Malcolm, Memoir of Central India, Vol. II, pp. 131-39.

^{7 (}a) "Nārada went away after preparing the lagnapatra."—Bhāratacandra, p. 14 (B. E.).

⁽b) "Although the match be previously agreed on by the parents, the father of the boy goes with much



mony (i. e., on the 'adhivāsa' day), the mistress of the house invited the women Adhivasa and women's rites. of the locality, who came properly dressed and adorned and celebrated the necessary customary rites. 8 First of all, they, as it were, sanctified the ceremony by singing auspicious songs out of ecstasy and then proceeded to arrange for the bride's bath. The old piece of sādī on the person of the bride was exchanged for a new one (khāra parityāga) and paste or juice of turmeric, mixed with scented oil, was rubbed on her body, while her companions poured water on

formality, and demands the girl for his son. The answer is returned with equal ceremony, and many preliminary forms being observed, the day of the marriage is fixed."-Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 6-10.

8 (a) "Vidhimate je āchilā strīācāra I Khāraparityāga save karena sītara II Snāna karāila Sītake anandita mana I Mangala ācāra save kare nārīgaņa II Snāna kari parāila uttama vasana l Adbivāsa kaila save nā īgaņa II "

Rāmāyana by Adbhutācārya, 1742 A.D., Typical Selections, etc., Part I, pp. 561-63.

" Maiyā sava jājā ājsā nimantrana kara l (b) Striācāra rita nānāgīta mangalera II Chuni mani bahumulya jadita ratana I

Bidyutera prāya sava girira bhavana Il Gāhiche mangala save ati haraşita II Umāra snānera cestā rāņīra tvarita II.



it from their pitchers. As soon as the bath was over, her body was carefully rubbed and adorned with a new gold-thread and embroidered sādī and beautiful ornaments. Thus was the 'Adhivāsa' celebrated.

The idea that the nuptial tie was as holy as any other religious bond was present among the upper classes of the Hindu society. So the parents of both the bridegroom and the bride regarded it as their first and foremost duty to propitiate the Gods and their departed forefathers by offering worship and by performing Srāddha ceremonies on the marriage day. On the

Sutaila haridra-rasā ekatra kariā I Ratna simhāsana par Umāre vasāiā II Mājiche komala deha haridrāra rase I Angete dhāliche bāri sakhi sava hose II Snāna karāiā anga mochāi jatane I Parāila jari sādī racita ratane II"

Umāra Vivāha, by Ānandamayī, T. Selections, Part II, pp. 1872-74.

"The king Janaka sat to perform the Srāddha ceremony and (the preceptor) made him perform it according to proper rules. After this he gave away the bride and propitiated the Brahmins by offering various gifts. In the meanwhile the king Daśaratha also performed the 'Nāndīmukha' and Srāddha ceremonies according to due rites and thus satisfied his (dead) parents."—Rāmāyaṇa, by Adbhutācārya, T. Selections, Part I, p. 561.

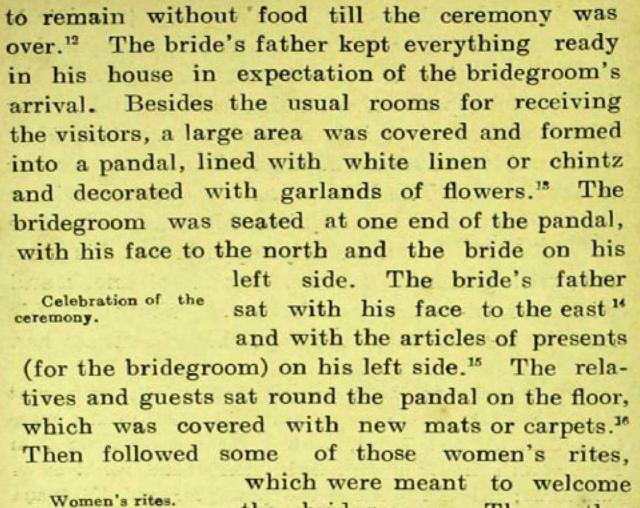
I have the design of any or

which was usually composed of the bridegroom's father, the family preceptor, the family barber and other friends and relatives, 10 proceeded to the house of the bride amidst the sound of musical drums and other instruments. The bridegroom was dressed with a 'mukuṭa' on his head, with fine Bridegroom's dress. and costly apparel on his person, with garlands of flowers round his neck and with sandal-paste, musk, etc., rubbed on his face. 11 On the marriage day, the bridegroom had

- cheerfulness, became very careful. Musical drums were being sounded and Indra, with great pleasure, went in front of all; the Gods went with friends and relatives as varajātras; Brahmā went as the preceptor and Nārāyaṇa as the bridegroom's guardian."—Bhāratacandra, p. 18 (B.E.). We may compare somewhat similar passages used with reference to the same occasion and place:—
 - (a) "Kanyākartā haila kanyā varakartā vara |
 Purohita bhaṭṭācārya haila pañcaśara ||
 Kanyājātra varajātra ṛtu cārajana |
 Vādyakare Vādyakara kiṅkiṇī kaṅkaṇa || "

Bhāratacandra, p. 79 (B.E.).

- (b) "The hearts of the bridegroom and the bride became, as it were, their guardians. The cupid himself became the preceptor, the gentle breeze the varajātras and the bees served the purpose of the musical instruments."—Rāmaprasāda, p. 17 (B.E.).
 - 11 Bhāratacandra, p. 18 (B.E.).



of the bride, with other women whose husbands were living, came out near the pandal with a lamp, grass $(d\bar{u}rb\bar{a})$, betels, etc., on a

^{12 &}quot;You will have to abstain completely from food till the (marriage) ceremony is over."—Ibid.

¹³ Craufurd, Vol. II, pp. 6-10.

^{14 &}quot;Uttarāsye rākhiāche varera āsana."—Bhāratacandra, p. 19 (B.E.).

^{15 &}quot;In the assembly, Himālaya sat with his face to the east and with the articles of presents for the bridegroom on his left side."—Ibid.

¹⁶ Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 6-10.



plate (nichānidālā)¹⁷ and making 'ulu-dhvani' all the while. Then, one by one, the ladies celebrated the welcome ceremony.¹⁸ Some of them blew the conch-shells, some warbled the welcoming 'ulu-dhvani,' ¹⁹ some lighted the lamps, while some tore into pieces the betel-leaves. This was also attended with various jokes, viz., some of the ladies threw handfuls of rice and raw sugar (guḍa) at the bridegroom, and others walked round him spraying him with water from jars (jhāri, a water vessel with a spout) in their hands and so on.²⁰ After this the bridegroom and the

- 17 (a) "Along with the women, whose husbands were living, and taking a lamp in her hand, she proceeded with the "nichānīdālā," making cheering sounds (ulu-dhvani) all the while."—Bhāratacandra, p. 19 (B.E.).
- (b) "Nichāni karite genu laye taila kunḍa."—Ibid, p. 20 (B.E.).
- 18 'Varana,' the process that a bridegroom had to go through when he was welcomed by the ladies of the household.
- 19 So long as the ceremony was not over, the ladies produced such cheering voices (ulu-dhvani) at quick intervals:
- (a) "Kutuhale ulu-dhvani deya eyogana."—Bhāratacandra, p. 21 (B.E.).
- (b) "Ulu diche ghana ghana pika simantinī."—Rāmaprasāda. p. 17 (B.E.).
- bridegroom. Some blew the conch-shell, some made cheering sounds (ulu-dvani), some lighted the lamp, while some tore the betel leaves into pieces. Some of

bride were taken under the pandal and the priest began to utter the sacred mantras.²¹ This being over the bride was taken round the bridegroom for seven times ²² and she placed a garland round her husband's neck.²³ The priest then made the bridegroom and the bride look upon each other with an auspicious vision (śubhadṛṣṭi).²⁴ After

them threw handfuls of rice and raw sugar (guda) on the body of the bridegroom, some went round him in graceful steps with water-pots in their hands, while others rubbed a reed on his nose and placed a shuttle in his hands. Then Menakā said, 'Will you be so good as to weave?'—Kālikāmangala, by Dvija Kālidāsa, Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 144.

The last sentence is really significant. Its Bengali equivalent is:—"Nākhete chñecāi nala hāte deya māku | Menakā Sivere kan bhñyā kara vāpu||" 'Bhñyā' may be corruption of vayan (vyān=weaving). The rite must have been a symbolic one, indicating or testing ability of the bridegroom to weave, to earn a living and to clothe his wife. It shows the truth of Pelsaert's remark that all through Bengal and Orissa, from Sonargaon to Puri, every villager was a skilled weaver.

- 21 Ibid.
- 22 "The bride goes round the bridegroom for seven times."—Rāmaprasāda, p. 18 (B. E.).
- 23 "She placed a garland round the neck of her husband."—Ibid.
- 24 "Vasistha got up and made them look upon each other with an auspicious vision."—Umāra Vivāha, by Anandamayī, Typical Selections, Part II, pp. 1872-74. This custom was celebrated with the holy idea that if



this the bridegroom rubbed vermilion powder on the forehead of the bride.²⁵

Almost every ceremony of the Hindus was worship of gods. attended with a religious worship, of gods. and in the midst of festivities and enjoyments of the marriage ceremonies they did not forget to worship their gods, who were then invoked by the priests with sacred mantras, offerings and oblations. A spot for performing the sacrifice was selected in the centre of the pandal "with flowers all round on the floor in various designs and figures." The altar was lighted of the priest occasionally put into the

the couple looked upon each other with a favourable vision on this solemn occasion, then they would enjoy a very pure and happy conjugal life and one would not be displeased with the other.

- 25 "Sundara rubbed vermilion powder on the forehead of his beautiful wife." Rāmaprasāda, p. 18 (B. E.). For a true significance of this use of vermilion powder by the women, vide the section on "Dress and ornaments."
- 26 "Their customs are a part of their religion being sanctioned by the supposed divine character of their legislator who, they believe, was a being of so exalted a nature as to be inferior only to God himself; of infinite knowledge and all his words were truth."—Parker, 'The War in India,' p 2, and Scrafton, 'Reflections on the Government of Indostan.'
- 27 "Lāja homa pare dhuma nayane paśila."— Umāra Vivāha by Ānandamayī, T. Selections, Part II, pp. 1872-74.

fire bits of sandal wood, benzoin and other articles. Being directed by the priest, the bridegroom got up from his seat at certain intervals and walked round the place of sacrifice, along with the bride. The father of the bride also got up and, according to the instructions of the priest, took his daughter by one of her hands and joined it with one hand of the bridegroom.28 After that he invoked the Gods to witness that he gave his daughter to be the wife of such a person (i. e., his son-in-law).29 A plate of sun-dried rice (ātapa cāla) was then brought there, and one by one, the Brahmins and other superiors of the married couple, present on that occasion, threw something of it on their heads.30 bridegroom and the bride were then taken into a room, which had been specially selected and decorated for that purpose 31 (i. e., the vāsaraghara), where the companions of the bride and other ladies, who were in such a relation with the bride as could permit them to cut jokes with her husband, amused the married couple by

^{28 &}quot;After marriage the hands of the couple were joined together."—Ibid.

²⁹ Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 6-10.

³⁰ Ibid.

^{31 (}a) "With hearts full of pleasure the bridegroom and the bride went into the vāsaraghara."—Kālikāmangala, by Dvija Kālidāsa, Typical Selections, Part I, p. 144.

⁽b) "Sindurera koță dila rajata thuite. I



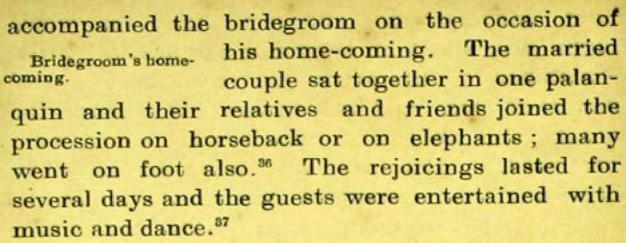
light conversations and jest; thus the whole night was spent in happiness and mirth. From contemporary literature we can have a real picture of this, and we cannot but admire the beauty and skill with which such rooms were decorated. Craufurd was very particular in observing one important custom, to which he refers in the following terms:—The bridegroom 'eleading her (bride) up to one of those stones that are used for grinding spices and other ingredients for some of their victuals he places her hand on it, thereby implying the obligation she has contracted of taking care of his household concerns.' 33

Great processions, along with the display of Processions, fire. fireworks 34 and the sound of works. etc. dundubhi (musical drums) and other instruments 35 and various illuminations,

Hāte kari Umā neya vāsaragrhete II ''

Umāra Vivāha, by Ānandamayī, Typical Selections, Part II, pp. 1872-74.

- 32 (a) Rāmaprasāda, p. 15 (B.E.).
- (b) Rāmāyaṇa, by Adbhutācārya, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 567-68.
 - 33 Craufurd, op. cit, Vol. II, pp. 6-10.
- 34 (a) "Strengthened by wind, the fire itself acted as fire-works."—Bhāratacandra, p. 18 (B.E.).
- (b) "The breath itself acted as fire-works." Bhāratacandra, p. 79 (B.E.).
- 35 "Drums and various other musical instruments were being sounded at quick intervals."—Rāmāyaṇa, by



Generally, on the day following the marriage ceremony the bridegroom's party left the bride's house and proceeded homewards with the bridegroom and the bride. The bride's parents and Instructions to the relatives bade farewell to their bride by her parents. young daughter with tears in

Dvija Bhavāņī, 1740 A.D., Typical Selections, Part I, p. 583.

36 Same as note 33.

Stavorinus and Craufurd refer to dancing girls, possessed of peculiar tastes and tricks. It is quite probable that those dancing girls were engaged on such occasions. "They will spend almost the whole night in seeing dancing and hearing music; yet none dance but the women whose profession it is and who devote themselves to the pleasure and amusement of the public."—Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 39. Stavorinus (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 438) gives us an idea about their dress which was generally rich and gorgeous. Compare the description of Mahārājā Kṛṣṇacandracarita, p. 38.

38 "The Gods, the demigods, and other members

their eyes ³⁹ and tried to console her by various instructions. ⁴⁰ These instructions imparted to the bride by her parents and relatives were meant to guide her in the house of her husband, where she henceforth occupied an important place as a member of a joint family. The parents of the bride, who were rather rich, sent along with their daughter ⁴¹ melānībhāras (consisting of various food articles such as sweetmeats, curd, etc., which were regarded as auspicious) and various other presents in dresses, elephants, horses, etc. ⁴² They sent with her one or two maid-servants and a few other companions. ⁴³

of the bridegroom's party departed on the next day." Sivāyana by Rāmeśvara, 1750 A.D., p. 31, B.E.

- 39 Rāmaprasāda, pp. 47-48, B.E.
- on "Position of Women." Vide the section
- 41 (a) "Menakā has given something in melānībhāra."—Bhāratacandra, p. 22.
- (b) "With tears in his eyes, Giri agreed to the proposal and got many "melānībhāras" ready."—Kālikāmangala by Dvija Kālidāsa, Typical Selections, Part I, p. 145.
- 42 (a) "The king, who resembled Karna in his charity, presented many precious articles such as an umbrella, an elephant, a chariot, servants and maid-servants."—Rāmaprasāda, p. 49, B.E.
- (b) "They presented many articles, which it will be a long story to describe; servants, maid-servants and many soldiers were also sent."—Bhāratacandra, p. 108.
 - 43 "They, who would accompany her, had smiling

When the marriage party returned to the bridegroom's house, the parents and relatives of the bridegroom welcomed the newly-married

couple in a solemn and auspicious manner. The path leading to their house was cleared and beautifully decorated with plantain trees on both sides of it, and a water-pot filled with water and adorned with boughs of a mango-tree was placed at the entrance of the house. Due attention being paid to all the auspicious family customs, the mother of the bridegroom joined with other ladies, took her new daughter-in-law inside the house. The women of the locality then visited her house to see the bride, who made obeisance to each of the superiors and received blessings in return. Some of them cut jokes with the bride, while others being of a fastidious and scrutinising nature, passed various critical remarks upon her. 45

Feasts and enter. The entertainments lasted for a few days, in one of which the boubhāta ' (a special feast arranged in the bridegroom's house, in which the bride had to serve a little quantity of rice to each of the invited guests

faces, while the pangs of separation of those, who would not accompany her, knew no bounds."—Rāmaprasāda, p. 48.

⁴⁴ Ibid, pp. 49-50, B.E.

⁴⁵ Ibid.



before they touched their dishes) ceremony was celebrated.46

A newly-married girl was not expected to remain long in her father-in-law's house and her parents became subject to a rebuke gratis of the women of their village, if they failed to bring back their daughter within a short time. To remain long in his father-in-law's house was thought improper for a bridegroom. Indeed, the situation of those who married the daughters of rich men on condition that they would remain for ever in their father-in-law's house (as gharajāmātās), was quite different. In such cases the bridegrooms

- "I lost my stick, used for preparing bhāng, on the very day of the boubhāta ceremony."—Sivāyana by Kavijīvana Mitra, 1744 A.D. Kavijīvana Mitra was born in the village of Lāhidīpādā, six miles to the north of Bogurā, vide Typical Selections, Part I, p. 129.
- 47 Cf. the portion 'Umā-virahe Menakā' in Dvija Kālidāsa's Kālikāmangala, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 148-49.
- 18 (a) "Oh my Lord! give up your desire for staying in your father-in-law's house and let us soon go to your own house."—Bhavānimangala by Gangānārāyņa. As the poet puts it, Bhāvānī made this request to Siva, because of his staying in his father-in-law's house for one year after the marriage.
- (b) Hari said to Pañcānana: "As it is your fatherin-law's house, it is not proper to stay here for many days."—Rāmeśvara's Śivāyana, p. 31. B.E.



left with certain formalities the families of their parents and entered into those of their fathers-in-law.⁴⁹ They had, however, to lead very miserable and wretched lives and had to bear patiently the frownings and ill-treatment of their brothers-in-law and others.⁵⁰

Marriages of boys and girls were celebrated in their early ages. Generally, were general. the marriage of a girl in an advanced age was not permitted by the laws of the society and the parents of such a girl incurred a universal odium; they

⁴⁹ Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 5-6.

will realise what sort of honour a gharajāmātā receives in his father-in-law's house. At first he his respected but gradually he is slighted by all in various ways; especially the words of his brother-in-law become hotter and more furious than fire itself."—Sivāyana by Rāmeśvara, p. 32, B.E.

^{50*} Stavorinus, Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, p. 441.

^{51 (}a) "Alas! what should I say! such a grown up but unmarried girl is like burning fire. You should arrange for her marriage and thus preserve the sanctity of the laws of religion.—Bhāratacandra, p. 90, B.E.

⁽b) "Finding such a girl unmarried, others will, out of shame, cut their tongue with their own teeth."—Rāmaprasāda, p. 23, B.E.



apprehended an eternal damnation for thus violating the sacred laws of religion, which enjoined the marriage of a girl before the age of puberty. This was so noticeable a feature of the Hindu social life of that time, that it did not fail to attract the notice of European writers, one of whom, writing a few years later, observed: "The Hindus are so scrupulous with respect to the virginity of their brides, that they marry extremely young, although consummation is deferred till they marry a person with whom those symptoms have already appeared to which the sex is subject." 52 When the girls were under menstruation for the first time after

Girls under menstruction and the ceremony of punarviā. their marriage, the ceremony of punarviā (second marriage) was celebrated with various rites and

customs, a few of them being similar to those of the first marriage.⁵⁸ Mr. Scrafton observes: "They are married in their infancy, and consummate at 14 on the male side, and 10 or 11 on the female, and it is common to see a woman of 12 with a child in

Bhāratacandra, p. 88, B.E.

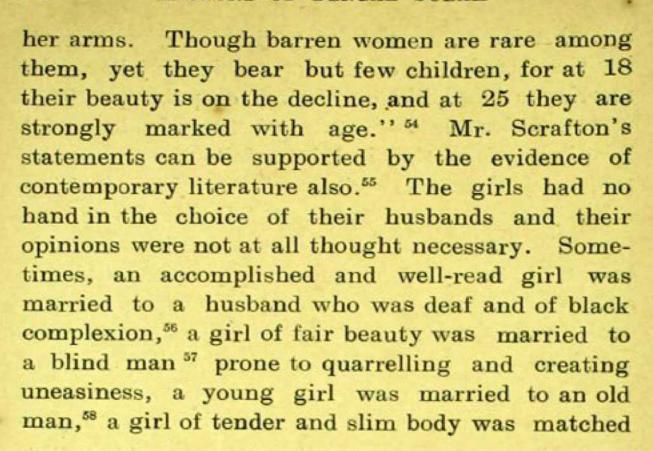
⁵² Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 2.

Viā mata punarviā sundara karila ||

Khudmāgā kādā khňedu nārinu racite |

Pňuthi bede jāi bada kheda raila cite || "

⁽b) "Kādākbňedu had been over and only punarviā (second marriage) was left to be celebrated." Bhāratacandra, p. 118, B.E.



⁵⁴ Reflections on the Government of Indostan, pp. 10-11.

or Gradually he attained his 13th year and his parents were overpowered with joy. They married him to a daughter of a king, belonging to the same class; and she was a ble zed wirl, possessed of beauty and qualities."—Rāmaprasāda, p. 51, B.E.

one woman said, "My friend! let me tell you about my misfortune. I have been married to a husband who is deaf and of black complexion. All my fine and aesthetic knowledge of poetry, learnt with much hope, has been spoiled by being wedded to this deaf fellow."—Bhāratacandra, p. 97, B.E.

^{57 &}quot;My unfortunate and blind husband is expert only in quarrelling; I have lost my fair complexion and has turned black by always thinking over my fate."—Ibid.

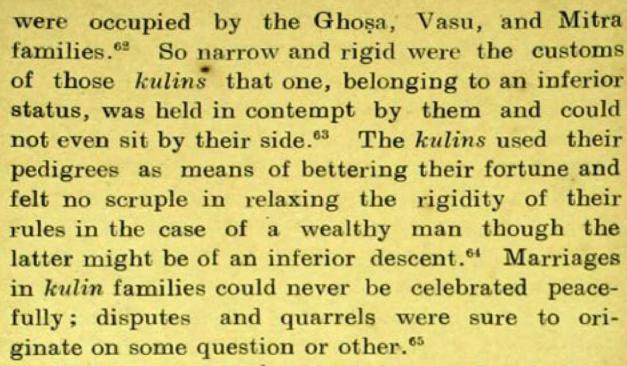
^{58 &}quot;I am a young girl while my husband is an old man."—Ibid.



with a corpulent man,⁵⁹ and again, sometimes, a boy of 12 or 13 was coupled with a girl of fullblown youth.⁶⁰

There is no doubt that these evils were more or less due to the influence of Evils of kulinism; kulinism and to the system of dowry prevalent among the kulins. This was the time of triumphant kulinism. Among the Brahmins, the Mukhopādhāyas, the Chattopādhāyas and the Vandyopādhāyas occupied, in order, the chief places in the scale of kulinism. Among the Kāyasthas also such places

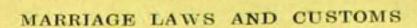
- " My husband is corpulent and pot-bellied."-Ibid.
- "I am a kulin's daughter," said another woman, and my youth has passed away in expectation of a bridegroom. Though I have been married after a long time, yet in age I shall be like an elder sister to my husband."—Ibid, p. 99. It is important to note that the poet here gives an exact picture of the society of the day where the girls, thus subject to misfortune by the inexorable laws of the society, could only weep and murmur amongst themselves but could not protest in words or deeds.
- 61 (a) My father, born in a Mukhopādhyāya family, belongs to the chief 'gotra' and my husband, known as belonging to a Vandyopādhyāya family, is a great kulin."—Bhāratacandra, p. 61, B.E.
- (b) "Anandīrāmā Mukhārjī, the ocean of kula" (i.e., belonging to a very noble family).—Ibid, p. 6, B.E.
- (c) "Many Mukhopādhyāyas, Chaṭṭopādhyāyas and Vñāḍarī Brahmins went along with him."—Tīrthamangala by Vijayarāma. Here the poet describes the Bňāḍarīs as



The evils which this kulinism produced, were numerous and shocking. PolyPolygamy,—a regular habit with the kulins. gamy had become a regular habit with the kulins, as they expected

kulins, but a Bňāḍarī Brahmin is known as one who has long lost his family honour (kula). Bhāratcandra does not refer to the Bňāḍarīs as kulins:—" Bňāḍarī Gokula Kṛpārāma Dayārāma."—p. 6, B.E.

- 62 "He married three daughters, blessed with beauty and virtue, of three chief kulin families, Ghoşa, Vasu and Mitra."—Bhāratacandra, p. 57, B.E.
- 63 "My husband is abused as a vāhāttare (belonging to a low status) Kāyastha and cannot sit by the side of those belonging to high families."—Bhāratacandra, p. 54, B.E.
- 64 "Your house will be full of wealth and paddy and then all the kulin Kāyasthas will marry their sons and daughters in your family."—Bhāratacandra, p. 54, B.E.
- 65 "I know that there must be quarrels where there are kulins."—Bhāratacandra, p. 61.



a substantial dowry in every marriage. Under such circumstances any sincere attachment on the part of the husbands could hardly exist; and the poor girls, being always pressed for more and more money by their unmatched and illiterate husbands, spent their days very miserably. They remained mostly in their father's house, where their husbands came once in two or three years only to exact their dues from them even to the farthing. Though early marriage was generally the rule yet

Early marriage not observed in the case of a kulin's daughter.

in the case of a kulin's daughter the rule was very often violated.⁶⁷

Her parents were bound to wait till they could collect money sufficient for their daughter's dowry; sometimes, from financial considerations, a girl of 11 or 12 was handed over as a wife to a grey-haired man. This dowry system

⁶⁶ See note 62. "Anekera pati tñei pati mora vāma." —Bhāratacandra, p. "Plurality of wives is admitted throughout the East." Verelst, View of the Rise, Progress, etc., p. 136. Stavorinus writes that the "evils of kulinism and polygamy were more shocking among the Brahmins than (among) the other castes."—op. cit., Vol. I, p. 440.

or if he comes once in two or four years he demands presents of me just on coming to the bed. He will use sweet words if I can give him the little amount that I collect by selling the cotton yarn (prepared by me); otherwise he will go away dissatisfied."—Bhāratacandra, p. 99.

⁶⁸⁽a) "Umā has got a necklace of pearls round her neck while that old fellow has there a bead of bones. Alas !



was not, however, compulsory, and never so shocking among the non-kulins. Sometimes, among the lower classes, the practice was exactly the opposite, because among them the bridegroom had to pay a dowry to the bride.

how will my darling Umā live in that old fellow's house. My darling Umā is an idyll of gold; how can that old lunatic fellow be called her husband?"—Bhāratacandra, pp. 19-20, B.E.

(b) "My young daughter Gauri is of innocent mind but I am going to marry her to an old man, who has passed three-fourths of his age.......I will not marry my darling Gauri to this old fellow, so long as I am alive."—Sivāyana by Rāmeśvara, p. 29, B.E.

From these passages it appears that, under these traditional names of Siva and Durgā, the poets have unfolded the dark picture of contemporary society. These realistic and minute descriptions were not the product of poetic fancy but were gathered from the actual facts of the social life of the day.

- 69 Craufurd, Vol. II. p. 56.
- "I married newly by paying a dowry of Rs. 20, but I have not lived for a single day in my house."—Bhāratacandra, p. 118, B.E.

CENTRAL LEPAR

SECTION 4.

Dress, Ornaments, etc.

Dresses and ornaments, used by the people of that age, varied amongst the different classes of the society. Generally, middle-class people used to wear a piece of cotton cloth and a piece of dobajā or ekapāttā during the summer 1 and, during the winter, they protected themselves Variety of dresses. from cold, some by using another piece of cotton cloth (dohār) and some a hāmām or glap over their body. Sometimes, during the winter, some of them managed to procure a benian or merjāi for their upper bodies and tope or turban for their heads.2 Some middle-class men of advanced age used vanāts and rejāis (quilted chintz) at night. Boys protected themselves from cold by putting dolāis (muslin lined and bordered with calico) on their bodies. Silk cloths,4 handkerchiefs and shawls 5 were generally used by the rich.

- 1 Stavorinus, Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, p. 114.
 - ² Ibid, p. 415.
- 3 "He gave him a piece of vanāt with Rs. 50."— Tīrthamangala by Vijayarāma, p. 85. Vanāt, a kind of cotton cloth.
 - 4 Ksitīśavamśāvalīcarita, p. 34.
- 5 "Some wear shawls while others are in want of a piece of torn cloth."—Rāmaprasāda's Padāvalī, p. 85, B.E.



Leather slippers were used occasionally.6 Before going to bed it was often the custom to wash one's feet and to come up to the bed-room with slippers on,7 which were, however, left at the door. Craufurd refers to "slippers of fine woolen cloth, or velvet, which frequently are embroidered with gold or silver; and those of princes at great ceremonies, even with precious stones." 8 The poor sometimes used wooden sandals instead of slippers. A piece of cotton cloth (cādara) was ordinarily used above the shoulder; some, instead of it, put on a jāmā, "neatly shaped to the upper part of the body, falling very full from thence and extending so low almost entirely to cover the feet." 9 The Muhammadans also wore a jāmā which, however, crossed over, and was tied on the right side of the breast, unlike that of the Hindus tied on the left. A muslin flash was occasionally wrapped round

"Kartāra maryādā bujhi subha Sitāba Raya | Sāla khilāta ghoḍā ādi dilena vidāya || "

Tīrthamangala by Vijayarāma;

Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 41.

- 6 "The sound of leather slippers on their back that removed their skin."—Bhāratacandra, p. 66, B.E.; Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 415.
- 7 "She prepared the bed carefully, and her lord entered the bedroom with slippers on his feet."—Rāmāyaṇa by Adbhutācārya, Typical Selections, etc., pp. 567-68; Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 44.
 - 8 Ibid, p. 43.
- Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 415; Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 42.



the waist of the rich. 10 Persons of high rank sometimes were above the $j\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ a "short close vest of fine-worked muslin;" on days of ceremonies and rejoicings, they put on rich bracelets on their arms and jewels on their turbans and strings of pearls round their necks hanging down upon Use of ornaments by the breast. 11 Stavorinus writes that many of them were small earrings also. 12 In contempo-

rary literature also we find that when Mādhava Bhāṭ expressed his willingness to go in search of Vidyā's bridegroom, Vīrasimha, father of Vidyā, out of gratification, rewarded Mādhava Bhāṭ with his necklace and other ornaments. The use of shirts was not unknown. The use of shirts was not unknown.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 43.

¹² Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 415.

¹³ Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 3, B.E.

ban slightly rolled, and getting into his 'palkey' went to the court."—Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 448.

^{15 &}quot;This was the name given by the Hindus to the Birds of Paradise which the Dutch import from the Moluccas with feathers and all."—Ibid, pp. 302-303, footnote.

Vizier having carried Ramnarain into an adjoining tent, put the dress of honour upon his head, and adorned his head

given the following description of a Hindusthani
dress:—"There is so little

men and women. difference between the Hindustany (i.e., Muhammadan) dress

of man and woman, that save the turban (which by the bye is worn by virgins of the royal blood and others) it requires the eye of skill and experience to state that difference and this consists in general in the *chola*, or close coat, which is much higher with women than with men; in the daman or petticoat tacked to it, which is four times ampler in a woman than in a man; and lastly in the lining of the hem, which is always in white with men, but of the most gaudy silks with women and those too adorned with lace." ¹⁷

A special dress was used on the occasion of attending the royal darbars or amongst distinguished personages, and we have a description of it in contemporary literature. This dress was characterised by a turban, adorned with diamonds and gems placed on the head and by belts fastened over the skirt in various fashions, and it was sometimes in a rich foreign style (vilātī khelāt).

with a circlet and an aigrett, remarkable by Phoenix feathers."—Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid, Vol. II, p. 141, footnote; Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 457.

18 "Sire cīrā hīrā tāia vilātī khelāta gāīa Nānā bandhe komara bāndhila | '2 Bhāratacandra, p. 118, B_zE.



The servants, who accompanied their masters on such occasions, also put on a rich dress. 19 Almost similar was the dress worn by a prince on the occasion of his visit to other countries, -the additional equipments being the use of precious ornaments, and weapons like the sword, bow and arrows, etc., for the purpose of defence.20 rich had personal dressing rooms (toṣākhānā), where wardrobes were kept.21 Clothes and garments of the well-to-do men were washed by washermen,22 though the poor perhaps washed their clothes themselves. Scholars generally put on simple and plain Plain and simple dresses for scholars. dresses 23 as the traditional Hindu idea that the votaries of learning should be above the material comforts of this world had not yet lost ground.

("The gateman replied that it could not be so for he had not the dress of scholars who used only a piece of cotton cloth and carried books with them in book-cases."—Bhāratacandra, p. 68, B.E.

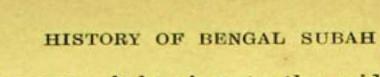
¹⁹ Cf. the dress of Dāsu and Vāsu, the two servants of Bhavānanda Majumdāra in ibid.

²⁰ Bhāratacandra, p. 64, B.E.

^{21 &}quot;Rāma Simha Rāi went into the dressing room."— Tīrthamangala by Vijayarāma, p. 13.

^{22 &}quot;In the morning the washerman went to the tank and first brought out that piece of cloth."—Rāmaprasāda, p. 30, B. E., and also p. 69, B.E.

^{23 &}quot;Dvāri kahe eki haya paḍuāra veśa naya Khuṅgi puňthi dhuti dhare tārā I "



The women belonging to the middle or poor classes generally put on only one Dresses of women. piece of cotton cloth (sadī); 24 in the winter they covered their bodies with an additional piece of cotton cloth. 25 Women of inferior classes wore a kind of coarse cloth, made probably of jute $(khu\tilde{n}\bar{a})$, which has been referred to contemptuously by a contemporary poet.26 Tasar cloths were also in use. The dresses of Hindu women belonging to rich families were usually very costly and of exquisite beauty. These consisted of different kinds of fine cotton or silk cloths or sādīs, manufactured at Dāccā or at Nadiā. Bhāratacandra refers to fine sādīs. 27 He has also referred to another kind of sadī (nīlāmbarī) in the description of the love-worn Vidyā.28 Sādīs set with gold and jewels were used,29 and a close jacket or a bust-bodice (kāñculī)

²⁴ Stavorinus, op. cit, Vol. I, p. 415.

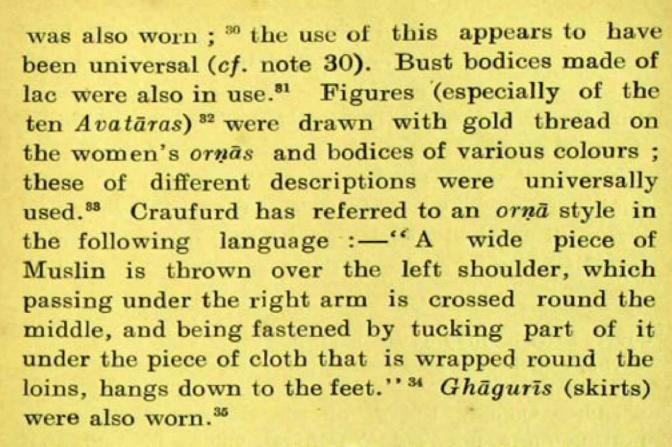
²⁵ Kşitīśavamśāvalīcarita, p. 34.

^{26 &}quot;Khuňā-tňāti haye deha tasarete hāta."—Bhāratacandra, p. 52. B.E.

^{27 &}quot;Knotting the hair quickly and putting on a glistening sāḍi."—Bhāratacandra, p. 128, B.E.

²⁸ Bharatacandra, p. 76, B.E.

²⁹ "After wearing various items of dress, she put on a kāñculī over her breasts, and veiled her head with a scarf interwoven with gold."—Bhavāṇīśaṅkara's Caṇdīkāvya (1779 A.D.). Vide Typical Selections, Part I, p. 372.



- 30 Bharatacandra, p. 163, B.E.; Craufurd, Vol. II, p. 45.
- 31 "Hṛdaye parila save lakṣera kñaculī" (they all put on kñāculīs made of lac on their breasts).—Saṅkaradāsera Bhāgavata, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 909-10; Bhāratacandra, p. 93, B.E.
- 32 "My heart yearns greatly after you, and I know not who has given you this beautiful kānculī; various figures are visible on it and its beauty resembles that of the full moon."—Dvija Bhavāṇī's Harivamśa, Typical Selections, Part II, pp. 234-36. Compare with this the description of Bhagavatī in Mukundarāma's Kavikankaṇacandī.
- 33 "I saw the women in every house wearing kñaculīs and orņās."—Bhāratacandra, p. 163, B.E. Kṣitīśavamśāvalīcarita; Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 415.
 - 34 Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 45.
- 35 "They covered their breasts carved out of wood with knaculis and their bellies made high with linen were



The hair was commonly rolled up into a knot or coil at the back of the head, and was fastened with hairpins. Different kinds of ribbons, including those decorated with lacquer-work, were used in coiffure; 37 some trailed curls hanging on their back even down to the hips; 88 the hair was well combed and dressed, 38 and on occasions of festivities, scented hair-oils were used. 40 Besides

covered with ghāgrās (skirts)."—Bhāratacandra, p. 96. Perhaps such dresses were used in Bengal as much as in up country.

³⁶ "Quickly rolling up the hair into a knot and putting on a fine $s\bar{a}d\bar{\iota}$."—Bhāratacandra, p. 128, B.E. Carufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 45.

37 "Lakṣera jāda diā kuntala bāndhila" (She wove her hair into a braid with ribbons made of lac).—Sankaradāsa's Bhāgavata, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 909-10.

38 "Nitambe dolaye venī dekhite sundara" (the beautiful plaited hair hanging down to her hips). Ibid.

39 Āncare ciruņe cāru cāncara cikura (her beautiful curling hair was dressed with a comb).—Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara. "Āncariā keśa-pāśa pariā uttama vāsa (after combing her hair and putting on a fine dress).—Bhārata-candra, p. 167.

"Kiśorī karaye veśa ciruṇī laiyā" (the young girl engaged in toilet with a comb).—Saṅkaradāsa's Bhāgavata, Typical Selections, Part, I, p. 909.

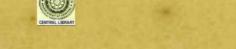
"Sugandhī tailete kare cikura-bandhana" (she braided her hair with scented hair-oils applied).—Goālinīra rupavarṇanā in Candrakānta, Typical Selections, Part II, p. 1412.



these, flowers were used by them to adorn their coils or braids of hair.41 The flowers Use of flowers. most prized for this were the Campā, Vakula, Juthi and Mālatī. The poets of the time have referred to flowers in their descriptions of the costumes of a goddess, of a Zamindar's wife, as well as of a milkmaid; so we can well conclude that flowers were used in the common toilet of women belonging to all sections of the society. Those who could afford to spend something, adorned their hair with gold bodkins.42 Other articles used all 48 but the richer women used Amalaki was used in toilet by in toilet by women. sandal-paste, cuā (distilled essences or āttars), kumkuma (saffron) and kasturi (musk), to enhance their complexion and charms.44 A woman whose

- 41 "Cuḍā chānde bāndhā cula, tāhāte cāmpāra phula." (Her hair was done up like a crown and round its tapering form strings of campā flowers were wound).—Bhāratacandra, p. 134, B. E.
- "Chňedā cule, vakul-phule, khoňpā bňedhecha." (You have coiled your thinned falling hairs with Vakula flowers).

 —Bhāratacandra, p. 195, B.E.
- "Khňopāra cāmpāra phula atisuśobhana (with beautiful campa flowers on the knot of her hair).—Goālinīra Rupa-varṇanā in Candrakānta, Typical Selections, Part II, p. 1412.
 - 42 Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 415.
- 43 "She rubbed her hair with āmalakī."—Sankara-dasā's Bhāgavata, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 909-10.
- 44 "She applied on her body sandal, otto, saffron and musk."



husband was living, wore vermilion 45 in different ways, as a round beauty-spot on the brow, or pasted on half the forehead in a crescent, or as a bright streak in the parting of the hair; and she put on lohā (a single iron bracelet) on her left hand. 46 She was distinguished also by the use of bracelets of conchshells (śnākhā), bordered sādīs, sandal-paste, betel and betelnuts 47; sometimes she used collyrium to paint her eyes 48 and staining powder for her teeth. 49 She decorated her feet with paint on anklet-chains ('cik') designed

- the darkness."—Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara. "Some painted with vermilion half of their forehead."—Bhavānīmangala by Gangānārāyaṇa. "The vermilion on her forehead looked very bright."—Sankaradāsa's Bhāgavat, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 909-10. "The vermilion spot on the forehead looked very beautiful."—Dvija Bhavāṇi's Rāmāyaṇa, Typical Selections, Part I, p. 538. Bhāratacandra, p. 128, B. E.
- 46 "Ayatira cinha hāte lohā ekagāchi."—Bhāratacandra, p. 54, B.E.
 - 47 "Sňākhā sāḍī sindura candana pāna-guā I nāhi dekhi āyati kevala ācābhuyā." ||

Bhāratacandra, p. 26, B. E.

- 48 (a) "With vesara on their nose and collyrium in their eyes."—Jayanārāyaņa's Harilīlā.
- (b) "Used collyrium in her eyes."—Sankaradāsa's Bhāgavata, Typical Selections, Part I. pp. 909-10.
- "With collyrium in their eyes and staining powder on their teeth."—Goālinīra Rupa-varņanā in Candrakānta, Typical Selections, Part II, p. 1412.



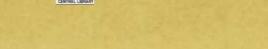
with red lac-dye (āltā). 50 Sometimes bracelets made of ivory 51 and of red shellac were also used. 52

Ornaments of various kinds, both of gold

Use of ornaments of various kinds.

and silver, were used by the women. Those belonging to the middle class generally used nath and

- 50 "Āltāra cika pare cňadera bājāra."—Umār ·vivāha by Ānandamayī, Typical Selections, Part II, pp. 16, 2-74.
- 51 "Beautiful bracelets made of ivory."—Sankaradāsa's Bhāgavata, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 909-10.
 - Bhāratcandra, p. 93, B. E.
 - 53 Stavorinus, op. cit, Vol. I, p. 415
 - 54 Ibid.
- (a) "This ring called Nutt and the only part of the Indian finery which Europeans cannot bring themselves to like is always the distinctive ornament of the mistress of the house. It is that which the bridegroom never fails to send to his bride and the article on which falls most debate at that time.......This ring which is of gold may be half a line in thickness upon a circumference of about four inches; and it is passed through the left cartilage of the nostrils. At the lower part of the navel are two round pearls of value divided only by a ruby somewhat flattened."—Haji Mustafa in Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 585, footnote.
- (b) "With bangles on hands, kuṇdalas on her ears, vesara on her nose and collyrium in her eyes."—Jayanārāyaṇa's Harilīlā.
- (c) Cf. "the pearls of the Nath were of the value of Rs. 100 or Rs. 200, upon which hung five pearls as nolakas; between the two big pieces of pearls was a shining ruby, as a pomegranate seed between the two beaks of a Suka



vesara on the nose, different kinds of earrings, such as kuṇdala, 55 nala-jhumkā, dhňerī-jhumkā, 56 pāsā, 57 in their ears, gold bangles and bracelets on their hands, and bājus on their arms just above the elbows. 58 A kind of ornament (smithi) was used to cover just the parting of the hair, along with another called tāra or ṭāirā, hanging in a curve on the forehead. 50 Ornaments like nūpuras (anklets) were used for the feet as well. 60

bird."—Jayanārāyaņa's 'Kāśī-varņanā,' Typical Selections, Part II, p. 1519.

- 55 Vide note 54 (b).
- 56 "Karņabhuṣā maņi dhñerī kāru karņafule ! Jadita jhumkā kāru tāra adhah dole !!"

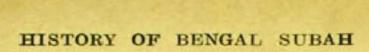
Same as in note 54 (c).

- 57 "She had a gentle speech, a laughing countenance and pāsās in her ears."—Goālinīra Rupa-varņanā in Candrakānta.
- 58(a) "All the women put on beautiful clothes and gold ornaments, beautiful shells, ivory and gold bangles, and 'bājus' (armlets set with various jewels), and tassels of wonderful make on their arms."—Sankaradāsa's Bhāgavata, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 909-10. All these ornaments have been mentioned by Jayanārāyaṇa in his description of Kāśī. He further mentions bracelets made of rhinoceros horns (gaṇdārera cūḍi) and bracelets of blue colour (nīlā-cuḍi), probably glass ones.
- (b) "The daily change in the use of ornaments like bracelets, bangles, bāju, smithi, ṭāra."—Bhāratacandra, p. 167, B.E.
 - 59 Vide note 58 (b).
- 60(a) "The nūpuras (anklets) and kinkinīs (bracelets) produced various sounds."—Rāmaprasāda, pp. 17-18.



Ordinarily silver ornaments like $p\bar{n}\bar{a}ijora$, mala, and $p\bar{a}sul\bar{\imath}$ were used on feet, ankles and toes respectively. Gold rings were used on fingers and fine necklaces of different designs were worn round the neck; these necklaces were composed of three, five or seven chains clasped together at the back, or of a single string round about the neck, three, five or seven times (tri-laharī, pnāca-nara, sāta-nara, kanṭha-mālā). Women belonging to the royal or zamindar families used, over and above these, ornaments of a finer quality and greater value. A

- (b) "Afterwards they put on nūpuras (anklets) on their feet."—The manuscript Bhavānīmangala.
- 61(a) "Caranete vanka mala dila tinațhari."—Umāravivāha by Ānandamayī, Typical Selections, etc., Part I, pp. 1872-73.
- (b) "They affixed 'pichiās' between her toes and gold anklets on her feet."—Sankaradāsa's Bhāgavata, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 909-10.
- (c) "They wear bracelets on their arms, rings in their ears, on their fingers, their ankles and toes, and sometimes a small ring on one side of the nostril."—Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 46.
- 62 "Kaḍiā aṅguli madhye ratana-aṅgurī" (a jewelled ring on little finger).—Saṅkaradāsa's Bhāgavata, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 909-10.
- strings. The necklace was wreathed together with silver, gold, ivory, pearls and rubies."—Ibid.
- (b) "A beautiful necklace of three strings adorned her breast by hanging upon it."—Jayanārāyaṇa's Kāśīvarṇanā, Typical Selections, pp. 1519-21.

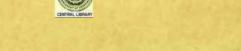


contemporary poet ⁶⁴ has left a description of a necklace worn by a queen; it had 20,000 pearls in six strings, and was further adorned with gems, rubies and diamonds, and the locket of the necklace was as bright as the full moon; its price was estimated to be 3 lac and 36 thousand rupees.

- a relative of Raja Rajaballabha of Dacca and was himself a very rich man. His estimate of the price of the gems and rubies in the necklaces may be regarded as somewhat accurate. We can very well compare this description of ornaments in mid-eighteenth century with the following in Ghanarāma's *Dharmamangala*, written about 1713 A.D., a generation or two earlier:—
 - "Ārope alakā-kole mukutāra pňāti |
 Sīmante raciā dila suvarņera smithi ||
 Aṅga-para apurva aneka alaṅkāra |
 Pravāla puraṭapňāti gaja-moti-hāra ||
 Do-suti te-suti moti-hema-kanṭha-mālā |
 Gorāgāya gaja-moti garva kare bhālā ||

Kāne pare kuṇdala kanaka-kāṭā kaḍi | Sahaje sundarī tāya veśa kare vāḍi || Karete kaṅkana śankha vāju-bāndhā chaḍā |

Parila purața-țăra vicitra băuli | Kațite kiṅkiņī pare padăgre pāśulī || Apara se pada-bhūṣā pātā-goṭā-mala | ''



Women Ibelonging to middle-class families were generally satisfied with gold ornaments like nath and single-string long necklace (kantha-mālā), and a few other silver ornaments. The poorest could hardly indulge in the use of gold or silver ornaments, and remained content with ornaments made of brass or other inferior metals. 55 Stavorinus writes that the women of the lower classes were a kind of ornament "made of a sort of cowries, brought from the Maldive islands," which the Bengalees had "the art of sawing through, so that every cutting makes a ring." 66

bed-room equipments. The rich and middle-class people generally slept on bedsteads covered with various kinds of bed-sheets. Pillows of different shapes (tākiyā, girdā) were in use, and one had generally two or three pillows (one under the head, another by the feet, and another on one side). Sometimes, a canopy was spread in the bed-room just over the bed. Mosquito-nets were also in use.

⁶⁵ Ksitīśāvamśāvalīcarita, p. 38.

⁶⁶ Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 415-16.

^{67 (}a) Rāmaprasāda, p. 25.

⁽b) Rāmāyana by Adbhutācārya, Typical Selections, etc., Part I, pp. 567-68.

^{68 &}quot; They spread a canopy inside the room."-Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid. "Look at your face after removing the mosquito-net."—Rāmaprasāda, p. 100 (B.E.).

Carpets of various kinds were spread in the rooms, in which the Zamindars and other rich people used to sit and transact their business. A contemporary poet, while speaking of the house of Raja Sundar Singh of Ticary in the Gaya district, refers to such carpets.⁷⁰

Lastly, it would be interesting to know something about the articles of luxury in which the wealthy people of the age indulged. These were of two kinds: 71 (i) Articles for Toilet, and (ii) Food Articles. With regard to the former, the following deserve notice: (a) rose water, ātara, cuā (perfumes prepared with distilled essence), musk, sandalpaste, saffron, etc.; (b) garlands of flowers like cmāpā, mālatī, mallikā, etc. No less rich were the luxurious food articles, which consisted of different kinds of sweetmeats, such as mandā, manoharā, rasakarā, vātāsā, sarabhāja, elāci-dānā, luci, sugar, sugar-candy, condensed milk (kṣīra), or cream,

⁷⁰ Vijayarāma's Tīrthamangala, p. 106:—" There were many beautiful and big buildings, with carpets spread in the rooms." It is also important to note that such carpets were manufactured locally.

"Dulicā gālicā āra satarañcī kata | kharida karite āila loka śata-śata || "

(Hundreds of people came to buy carpets of dulicā, gālicā and satarañcī varieties.—Ibid, p. 108.)

- 71 (a) Rāmaprasāda, p. 15 (B.E.).
 - (b) Bharatacandra, p. 79 (B.E.).
 - (c) Rāmāyaņa by Adbhutācārya.



curd, cocoanut pieces or gratings mixed with sugar, cooled Ganges-water scented with camphor, betel-nuts and betels prepared with stone-lime, cardamon (elācī), cloves (lavanga), nutmeg (jāyaphala) and mace (jayitrī). Fine hand-fans of peacock-feathers and white chowries (cāmara) were also used by luxurious persons for enjoyment of cool breeze. This account is based in every detail on the writings of the contemporary authors, and the descriptions by them of the habits of Zamindar families might equally apply to all the wealthy people of those times. In all ages, the standard of living depends much on the possession and distribution of wealth, and it is probable that a moneyed man in Bengal of the mid-eighteenth century, whether he belonged to a Zamindar family or not, could with equal facility procure these articles of luxury for himself.

The use of flowers, garlands, sandal and musk, etc., shows that the well-to-do people of Bengal in that age were not wholly devoid of finer aesthetic tastes, which may compare favourably with those of the present age.

The control of the co

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SECTION 5.

Relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

Living side by side for centuries together, the Hindu and Muhammadan communities had borrowed each other's ideas and customs.1 Whenever two types of civilisation come into contact with each other, it is natural that one will exercise its influence on the other. Hinduism had stood patiently before the onrush of the militant forces of Islam without losing its assimilative power in the least, and as soon as the storm had subsided, it cast its influence on the followers of Islam. Similarly, the influence of Islam also affected the Hindu society to some extent. With the gradual increase in the number of Hindu converts and with the disappearance of the feelings of bigotry from the minds of the masses, this process of assimilation and interchange of customs and thoughts drew the two communities

¹ Vide the article by Mr. Mazhal-ul-Haque in the Statesman of the 17th November, 1910, referred to by Dr. D. C. Sen in his "History of Bengali Language and Literature," pp. 794-95.

closer. It is worthy of note that we find important illustrations of this mutual assimilation of customs and Mutual assimilation of customs and thought ;- important thought even in the age of illustrations in the the great orthodox emperor reign of Aurangzeb; Aurangzeb. Alwal, a Muhammadan poet, translated the Hindi poem 'Padmāvat' into Bengali and wrote several poems on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the 17th century.2 Dr. D. C. Sen has noted that "the manuscripts of Padmavat hitherto obtained, all belong to the border lands of Aracan in the backwoods of Chittagong, copied in Persian characters and preserved by the rural Muhammadan folk of those localities. No Hindu has ever yet cared to read them. This goes to prove how far the taste of the Muhammadans was imbued with Hindu culture. This book, that we should have thought could be interesting only to Hindu readers, on account of its lengthy disquisitions on theology and Sanskrit rhetoric, has been strangely preserved, ever since Aurugzeb's time, by Moslems for whom it could apparently have no attraction, nay to whom it might even seem positively repellent. From the time of Magana Thakur, the Muhammadan minister, till the time of Shaik Hamidulla of Chittagong who published it in 1893covering a period of nearly 250 years, this book

was copied, read, and admired by the Muhammadans of Chittagong exclusively." In Kṣemānanda's 'Manasāmangala,' written towards the latter part of the 17th century, there is a passage which tells us that in the steel-chamber prepared for Lakṣmindra, a copy of the Koran was kept along with other sacred charms to avert Manasā Devī's wrath.

By the middle of the 18th century, this process of mutual assimilation had and by the middle greatly advanced. Sahamat Jang eighteenth century. and Saulat Jang (nephews of Nawab Allahvardi) once enjoyed the Holi festival, for seven days, in the garden of Motijhil.5 On that occasion about 200 reservoirs had been filled with coloured-water, and heaps of abira (red-powder) and saffron had been collected; and more than five hundred charming girls,6 dressed in costly robes and jewels, used to appear in a body every morning and evening mustering from every part of the garden. After the treaty of Alinagar (9th February, 1757). Nawab Sirajuddowla proceeded to Murshidabad

³ Ibid, p. 626.

⁴ Ibid, pp. 288, 793.

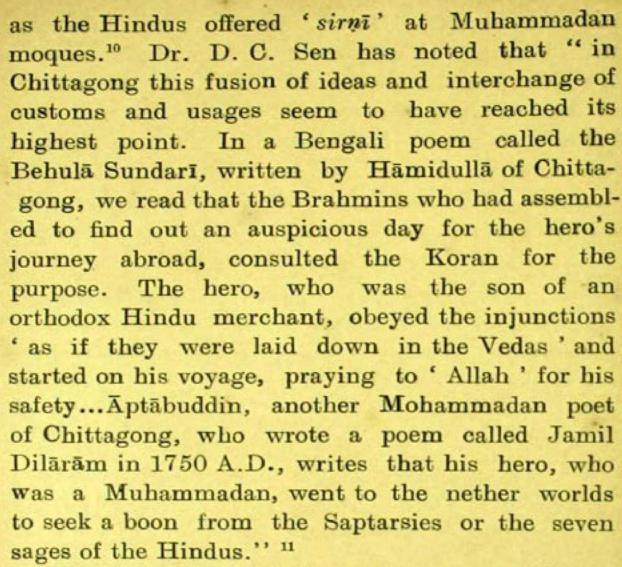
⁵ Muzaffarnamah, pp. 86a-86b. The author of Muzaffarnamah was himself present on this occasion.

There was a set of such professional dancing-girls, who could not be certainly classed with the ordinary gentle-women of the society (cf. Edward Ives', Craufurd's and Stavorinus' references to "Dancing girls").



and enjoyed the 'Holi' festival in his palace at Mansurganj. Once when at Azimabad, Nawab Mir Jafar crossed the Ganges with all the gentry of the town and engaged himself in enjoying the 'Holi' festival. It is said that, on his death-bed, Mir Jafar drank a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol of Kirīteśwarī. The Muhammadans offered 'pujā' in Hindu temples,

- 7 Muzaffarnamah, p. 123b.
- ⁸ (a) Ibid, p. 137a. It is important to note that not only Mir Jafar but also all the gentry of the city took part in the festival. On this occasion Mir Jafar amused himself in the company of a woman named Ferzana, who might be regarded as an example of that type of professional girls, five hundred of whom had been engaged by Sahmat Jang and Saulat Jang.
- (b) "Not content with that he (Mir Jafar) ordered a sandy spot in the river, through which ran a small stream, to be surrounded by cloth-walls and there he spent some days, in fulfilling the rites of that Gentoo festival, the last of which consists in throwing handfuls of dust and coloured earth at each other and syringing coloured water on one another's clothes."—Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 266.
- 9 "Several persons of credit have affirmed that some moments before his demise, he had, on Nandecomer's persuasion, ordered to be brought to him some water that had been poured in libation over the idol at Kyirut-conah (a famous temple of the Gentoos in the neighbourhood of Murshidabad) and that some drops of it were poured down to the dying man's throat."—Ibid, Vol. II, p. 558. It is worthy of note that a Hindu could, without any hesitation, offer a Moslem for drink the water of libation poured on a Hindu idol and that it was drunk in faith.



This interchange of ideas and customs had long ago led to the evolution of a common god, Satya Pīra, worshipped by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. 12

Evolution of the worship of a common God, Satya Pira, by the Hindus and the Muhammadans alike.

We find in Bhāratacandra's poem on 'Satya Pīra' that a Hindu merchant named Sadānanda got

¹⁰ Dr. D. C. Sen's History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 793.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 796.

¹² Compare the numerous poems on Satya Pīra, written in old Bengali, vide ibid, pp. 396-97.



a daughter by favour of the god Satya Pīra, whom he had promised some offerings; but very soon the merchant forgot to make his offerings, and incurred the wrath of the said god, as a result of which his son-in-law met with a premature death. It is related in the work 'Samasera Gājira Pňuthi' that one night a Hindu goddess appeared thrice before the

Gāji in his dreams, and in obedience to her behest the Gāji worshipped her the next morn-

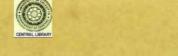
ing with the help of the Brahmins and according to due rites.¹⁴ A Bengali document ¹⁵ (dated 1732 A.D.), which marks the victory of the Sahajiyā

Muhammadan signatories in a document dealing with Vaisnava religious matters. cult over the Orthodox Vaisnava cult, has got a few Muhammadan signatories as its witnesses and it is really worthy of notice

¹³ Bhāratacandra's Granthāvalī (New Victoria Press Publication), p. 1.

^{14 &}quot;Summon the Brahmins, if you do not worship yourself; otherwise the victory in the battle is not for you. In this way she appeared thrice in his dream and he took fright on hearing of the battle. Leaving his bed in the morning, the Gāji pondered over the matter for some time, and (at last) duly worshipped the Goddess by summoning the Brahmins."—Samasera Gājira Pnuthi, Typical Selections, Part II, p. 1851.

¹⁵ S. R. Mitra, Types of Early Bengali Prose and Typical Selections, Part II, pp. 1638-43.



that even in matters of social and religious changes the opinion and testimony of the Muhammadans were sought and obtained by their Hindu brethren. Many of the Muhammadans believed in the principles of Hindu astrology and were as particular

Principles of Hindu astrology understood and observed by the Muhammadans. in observing them as the Hindus. 16 We find that the Muslim Nawabs like Sarfaraz and Allahvardi started on their

journeys or undertook expeditions at auspicious moments. "Mircasim understood a little of astrology and believed in its maxims and predictions; he procured the child's horoscope to be accurately drawn by able astrologers." The When we study the number of works composed by Muslim writers of that age, in praise of the Hindu gods and goddesses and on Hindu music, we

astrologers together, one half of the year is taken up in unlucky days. The head astrologer is ever present at all their councils; no new enterprise is begun without his being first consulted and his veto is as effectual as that of a Tribune in the Roman Senate."—Scrafton, Reflections on the Government of Indostan, p. 17.

¹⁷ Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 387.

¹⁸ Vide History of Bengali Language and Literature, pp. 798-804, and Prācīna Pňuthir Vivaraņa by Abdul Karim.

[&]quot;In his work called 'Pada-kalpataru,' composed in the 18th century, Vaiṣṇavadāsa has quoted the 'padas' (songs in praise of Vaiṣṇava gods) of 11 Muslim writers.'—Dr. D. C. Sen's article on "Baṅgabhāṣāra Upara Musalmānera"



cannot but conclude that the Vaiṣṇava and orthodox Hindu notions and thoughts had deeply influenced the inner stratum of Muhammadan

In ordinary life, the two communities were living in harmony and mutual attachment. society in Bengal. Thus, in the field of ordinary life the two communities were living side by side in harmony and

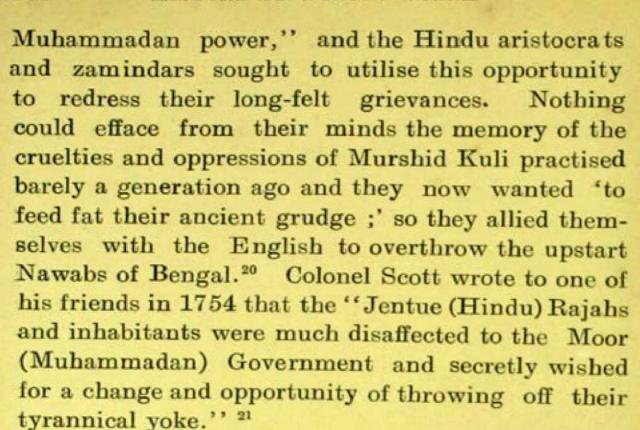
mutual attachment.

But, the relations between the prominent members of the two communities, living in

the court circles, were someBitter relations in times very bitter, though it
did not affect so much the
internal life of the country. 19

This was due principally to two important changes which had greatly influenced the political condition of Bengal; one was the gradual weakening of the Imperial authority at Delhi and the consequent rise of upstarts and adventurers like Murshid Kuli or Allahvardi as provincial governors, and the other was the emergence and active participation of great European powers in the field of Indian politics. "There was a revival of Hindu feeling coincident with the gradual weakening of the prabhāva" in the Bengali Magazine 'Bicitrā,' Magh 1335, B. S.

19 "Yet an Englishman cannot but wonder to see how little the subjects in general are affected by any revolution in the Government; it is not felt beyond the small circle of the court."—Scrafton, Reflections on the Government of Indostan, p. 32.



This was quite in keeping with the tradition of Indian history. Since the days of Alexander's invasion, it had become, as it were, the fashion of the aggrieved or the weaker party to invite or welcome a foreign power. Ambhi, King of Taxila, sided with Alexander against the powerful Hindu monarch Porus ; Jaychandra invited Muhammad Ghori against Prithviraj; Daulat Khan and Alam Khan invited Babar against Ibrahim Lodi; and here also the Hindu aristocrats and zamindars greatly helped the establishment of the British power in Bengal. Mr. Hill is of opinion that it was the special advantage of the English,-their " power was based on a firm commercial footing and the grants made by the Emperor, which they could enforce in exact proportion with the weakness of the local Government,"-that attracted the Hindus towards the English.-Hill, Bengal in 1756-1757, Introduction, lii. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 328.



As long as the strong hands of Allahvardi held the reins of power this feeling of discontent was not expressed by those Hindu aristocrats, and by tact and sagacity, the former was able to utilise their services. Orme has remarked: - "Thus the Gentoo connection became the most opulent influence in the government of which it pervaded every department with such efficacy, that nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge nor did they ever deceive their benefactor but co-operated to strengthen his administration and to relieve his wants; and it is said that the Seats (Seths) alone gave him in one present the enormous sum of three millions of rupees as a contribution to support the expenses of the Marattoe war." 22 But it is doubtful if this attachment was a sincere one, bound by mutual love and sympathy. Both Allahvardi and his Hindu officers were prompted by political considerations, and one could not easily dispense with the other without prejudicing his own interest. The very language of Orme that " nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge" shows the increased influence of the Hindu officials whose support Allahvardi was probably anxious and careful to secure in order to combat successfully with the Maratha hordes or the Afghan

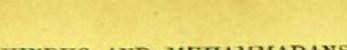
²² Orme, History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, Vol. II, p. 53.

rebels. The Hindu aristocrats and zamindars also supported the government of Allahvardi as it was fighting against the Marathas who were but exacting plunderers of their wealth and property.²³ Not to speak of Allahvardi, Jagat Seth would have supported any one coming forward to drive out those Marathas, who had sacked his banks and had robbed him of two crores.

When the administration of the country fell into the hands of Sirajuddowla, the loyalty of those Hindu politicians vanished, and most of them, with the exception of three or four, such as Ramnarayan, ²⁴ Meer Madan, Mohanlal and Ramram Singh of Midnapur, joined in the 'great conspiracy' of 1757 against the Nawab. During the first governorship of Mir Jafar, the relations between him and the Hindu officers like Ramnarayan and Rai Durlabh were rather hostile, and

When a country is attacked by any external force or is tormented by a civil war, its peaceful citizens would quite naturally rally round their monarch, if he make a sincere effort to drive out those evils. All questions of personal likes or dislikes vanish, for the time being, before considerations of practical necessity.

^{24 &}quot;Of all the Gentoos Ramnarain seems to have been the only man, who did not join the conspiracy against Seerajah Dowlah and who had given the French party a warm reception at Patna, as he regarded it as an important source for Seerajah Dowlah in case hostilities should be renewed with the English."—Orme, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 166.



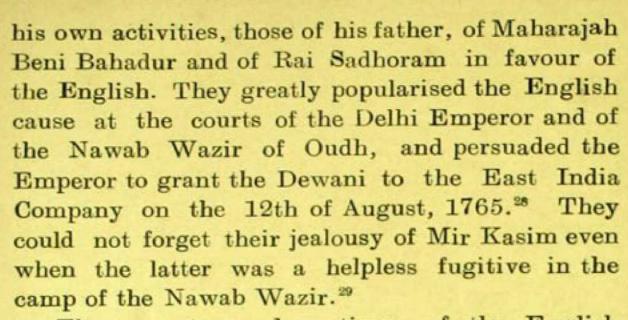
it was only the support of the English which saved them from the wrath of the Nawab.25 Had Mir Kasim been ably supported by Shitab Ray and his party, then perhaps the affairs might have taken a different turn and the English would not have been so easily victorious against him. The attitude of Shitab Ray towards Mir Kasim was all along hostile, and no one can deny that the cause of the English East India Company was greatly furthered by the assistance of Shitab Ray, his son Kalyan Singh, Maharajah Beni Bahadur and Rai Sadhoram. Mir Kasim tried his utmost to employ Shitab Ray in his service, but the latter was too distrustful of him to accept any 26; on the contrary, he spared no pains to poison the mind of the English against the Nawab and was greatly instrumental in bringing about his downfall. Kalyan Singh has himself 27 related in plain words

Orme, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 196. For details, vide Orme, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 277-359; Scrafton, Reflections on the Government of Indostan, pp. 104-14.

^{&#}x27;He had no trust or confidence in the Nawab. He considered him unprincipled, faithless and treacherous, and did not wish to have anything to do with him.'—

Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh, p. 102a.

Wazir for a long time, when he always gave me a most patient hearing. In all my talks I impressed upon him the desirability of cultivating friendship with Mir Jafar and the English officials who were men of honour, and



The supporters and partisans of the English

Supporters or partisans of the English protégés of the Hindus. The
were almost all Hindus or protégés of the English refugees at Fulta (in

Hindus. 1756) were greatly helped in their

distress by the neighbouring Hindu Zamindar, Rājā Navakṛṣṇa, 30 and by some of the merchants 31 of

avoiding Mir Kasim Khan who was a fickle-minded man of no character."—Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh, the chapter on "An account of Maharaja Sitab Ray—Reinstallation of Mir Jafar—Last days of Mir Kasim, etc...."

- 28 Ibid.
- 29 "Maharaj Beni Bahadur, for some reasons best known to himself, intrigued against Mir Md. Kassim Khan. The Nawab Wazir was persuaded to pass an order for the imprisonment of Mir Kasim Khan and the demolition of his house."—Ibid.
- Naba Kissen helped them greatly."—Long, op. cit., p. 93.
 - 31 The petition of Gangaram Tagore and Locoor



Calcutta, though Nawab Sirajuddowla had passed strict orders against helping them in any way. Most of the Company's gomastas belonged to the Hindu community 32 and the native commissioners in Calcutta about the year 1758 were all, with two or three exceptions, Hindus. 33 Similar were the men who were favoured on account of their connections with those native Support of the Hindu commissioners. 34 Thus, the suparistocrats and zamin-

Support of the Hindu aristocrats and zamindars greatly advanced the cause of British supremacy in Bengal. commissioners.34 Thus, the support of the powerful Hindu aristocrats and zamindars greatly

Sirkar, both merchants of Calcutta, to Mr. Drake:—"That your petitioners having supplied the Buxeyconnah with rice and gunnies when the Nawab marched on the place in 1756 confide in your goodness to be paid the amount of what they sent in to the factory at the desire and orders of the Zemindar, as they are informed all other merchants and Doocandars (shop-keepers) have been paid by your orders."—Proceedings, 17th November, 1757.

- 32 These gomastas were all actuated by selfish considerations of making money, and took advantage of this opportunity to confirm their hold on the commerce of the country.
- 33 'Govindram and Ragoomitra, Sooberam Bysak, Ally Boye, Rutto Sircar, Sookdeb Mullik, Nian Mullik, Diaram Bose, Nilmony, Hurrikissen Tagore, Durgaram Datta, Ramsantose, Mahmud Suddock, Ayer Noody.'—Consultations, 18th September, 1758 A.D.
- 34 'Chaithon Das, Dulob Lucky, Cannant Nurry, Churn Bysack, Curoy Bissas, Gones Bose, Ramdev

106 HISTORY OF BENGAL SUBAH

advanced the supremacy of the English East India Company in Bengal.⁸⁵

Mitra, Sookdev Mitra, Ruthorn Loltta, Hutty Raon, Rajaram Palit, Durgaram Bedasonga, Durgaram Surmat, Lilmoni Chaudree, and others.—Ibid.

35 Kṛṣṇacandracarita by Rajivalocana, p. 98.

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CHAPTER II

SECTION I .- ENGLISH FACTORIES AND INVESTMENTS

General Features.

All the European Companies had established their factories in different parts of Bengal, especially in the important manufacturing and commercial centres. The French had fac-

Factories in different parts of Bengal: important factories of the English Company. tories at Chandernagore, Dacca, Cassimbazar, Balasore, Jugdea, Rangpur, while they had "Houses of trade and other

Agencies "at Supur (in the Birbhum district), Khirpay, Canicola, Mohunpur (in the Midnapur district), Serampur, Chittagong, Maldah, etc., which were regarded as "Subordinates to the said original Factories." ¹⁴ We know from Gangārāma, a contemporary Bengali writer, that the Dutch had factories in such interior villages as Kāgrāma (in the Murshidabad district) and Mowgrama (in the Burdwan district). ¹⁵ The more important

Revolution in Bengal, Hill's Bengal, Vol. III, p. 216.

¹a Rangpur District Records, Vol. V, p. 120.

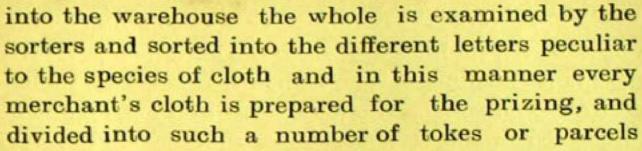
^{1 b} Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇa. While touring through certain districts of Western Bengal, I saw remains of old European factories in different villages.



factories of the English Company were situated in the following places:—Patna, Cassimbazar, Rangpur, Rampur Bauliah, Lakshipur, Kumarkhali,² Santipur, Burran,³ Sonamukhi,⁴ Radhanagore, Khirpay, Haripal, Golagore, Jangipur, Surdah,⁵ Judgea, Dacca, Collinda,⁶ Balasore, Balaramgurhy, Maldah, Baranagore, Dhaniakhali, Buddal,⁷ Harrial.⁸ Besides these, there were subordinate factories and aurungs in many places, e. g., at Surul near Bolpur and Elambazar near Suri in the Birbhum district and Ganutia in the Murshidabad district.

These factories were profitably utilised by the Company in collecting investments. The Company's goods were usually sorted, prized and embalmed in the *cotah* of the *aurungs* in the following manner:

- "So soon as the merchants bring their cloth
- 2 Kumarkhali is near Kushtia in the Nadia district.
- 3 In the Nadia district.
- 4 Sonamukhi is in the Bankura district, now a centre of shellac industry.
- 5 Surdah is in the Rajshahi district, the old residency building there being occupied by the Police Training School.
 - 6 Rennel's Journals, p. 75.
 - In the territory of the Raja of Santosh.
 - 8 In the Rajshahi district.
 - 9 Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. XXV, p. 85.
 - 10 Holwell, I. H. E., p. 202.
- 11 Letter from C. Manningham and William Frankland to the President and Council in Calcutta, dated the 17th of December, 1752.



How the Company's goods were sorted, prized and embalmed.

having the merchant's name affixed thereto who provided the same. When the goods are thus

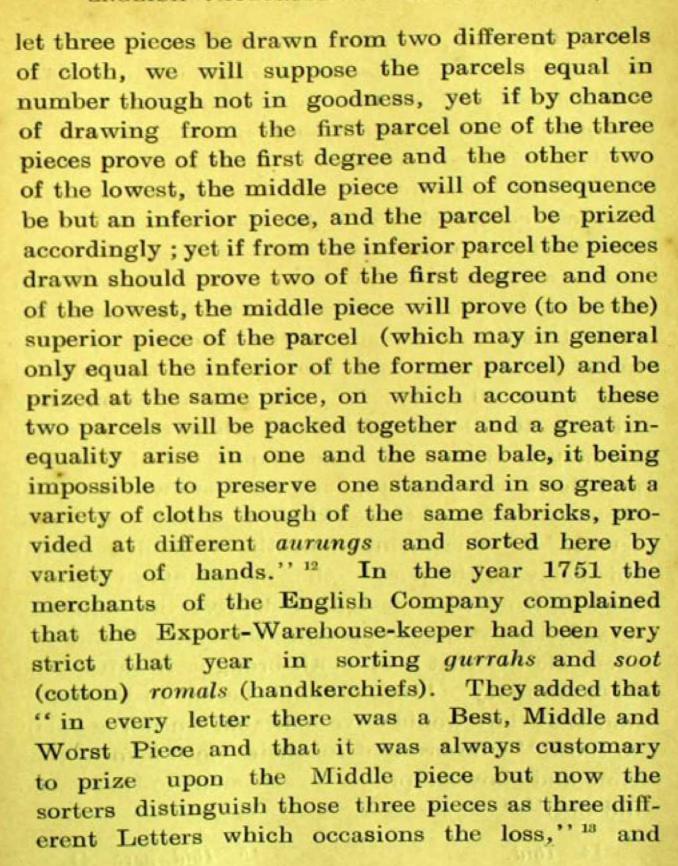
prepared three pieces from every separate parcel and from every letter of each sortment of goods are promiscuously drawn by the young gentlemen who are assistants in the warehouse, which three pieces are carefully examined by the warehouse keeper and his assistant and the middle pieces of the three in point of goodness is then fixed upon by the warehouse keeper and the merchant who provided the cloth as the piece by which the goods are to be prized by the Governor and Council, and on the goodness and defect of the middle piece so chosen depends the price of the goods to the merchant. In this manner each middle piece of each sortment is drawn and fixed upon as the price by which the said parcel is to be prized by the Governor and Council in the prizing day when they are compared and examined with the muster (sample) contracted upon and prized by the Governor and Council according to their equalling or falling short of such musters. After this the cloth is embalmed, the method having been to pack every merchant's cloth that is prized at one piece in the same bale."

This method had certain defects. We find that a bale was "composed of cloth belonging to several merchants which have been provided by their separate gomastas (or agents) at different aurungs and sorted in the warehouse by different hands; by which method though each separate parcel of cloth is never so well sorted in regard to itself, yet the fabrick of every aurung having its peculiar qualities, will not permit of their being packed in one and the same bale without an inequality appearing. Some aurungs being noted for the fineness of their thread in which case the cloth though fine will appear thin, whereas the cloth from a different aurung of a coarser thread by being struck closer and equal may in all probability be a superior piece of cloth, as every piece of cloth of the same fabrick and breadth, though provided at different aurungs, ought to be composed of an equal number of threads. Anof the Method. other material reason why the pieces should not wholly determine the manner of packing arises from the uncertainty of the pieces themselves, for according to the method before set forth of chusing the prize pieces by drawing three promiscuously from each parcel, it may happen that a superior parcel of cloth, as there will always remain in each letter several degrees of goodness,

though not sufficient to alter the letter, will be lower

prized than another parcel rather inferior by the

chance of drawing the prize pieces. For instance



¹² Ibid.

Letter to Court, 2nd January, 1752, para. 39.

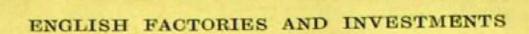
they, therefore, requested the Council in Calcutta to "order Every Letter to be sorted in three different parcels and at the end to put them together for one prizing which would prevent the Lower Letters being run into the higher and distinguish those who brought in the best goods." 14 The Council complied with this but enquired of the merchants the reasons for their bringing the cloths so late as 15th November though they had received the advances early in the season. 15 The merchants replied that "on account of the strictness in sorting of the gurrahs and soot romalls they should lose from 20 to 25 p.c. for which reason they wrote to the Dellols (dalals) to whom they advance Dadney to deduct the like amount out of the cloth and have received for answer they will not send them any more of those kind of Goods on those terms." 16 The members of the Council regarded this delay on the part of the merchants to be proceeding from their designs to deprive the Company of sufficient time for sorting the cloths 17 and told them plainly that "all cloth brought in after the 21st January (1752) should be cut in Prizing" and that they would give suitable encouragement to those "who brought in their cloth before that time and show a proper resentment to those who did not." 18

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid, para. 41.

¹⁷ Ibid, para. 43.

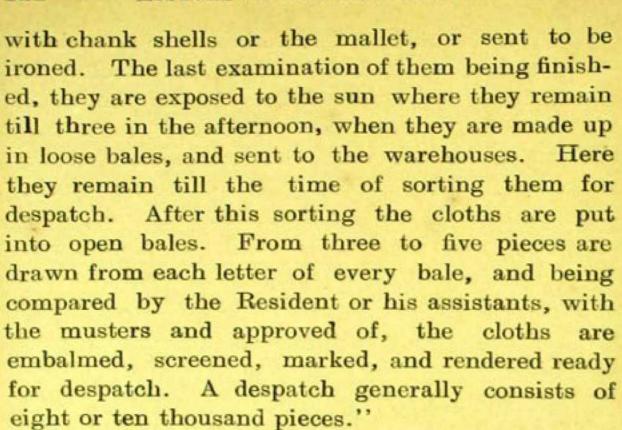


Taylor has given a description as to how cloths were dressed and packed in the Dacca factory for transmission to England 19: - "After the cloths are bleached they are delivered in a neat state to nurdeeahs, contadars, who count and dry the cloths. The 'Chicon' ('art needle work,' -embroidery) and 'Kusheeda' fabrics, and all thick assortments, as well as cloths, rendered tender from repairs, are dried on the ground, and all the rest on bamboo rails, to which they are secured by strings. The cloths, after having been dried, are examined by a 'Serbaracar,' with respect to their colour and state of dryness and are then wound by the nurdeeahs upon their rollers. They are covered with baftas and carried in the evening to the factory where they undergo another examination next morning. Fine and thin cloths are first given to nurdeeahs to be turpayed, and then to rasugars (darners), if they are to be gold-headed or flowered. They are next unrolled and examined on tables at the factory, and if necessary are sent to the dagh-dhobees 20 to have spots and stains removed, and lastly to rasugars to have damages repaired. They are next folded, and then distributed among the koondegurs 21 to be bettled

¹⁹ Taylor, A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture at Dacca, pp. 98-99.

^{20 &}quot;Dagh-dhobees are washermen, who remove spots and stains from Muslins."

²¹ Koondegurs were "workmen who bettle cloths."

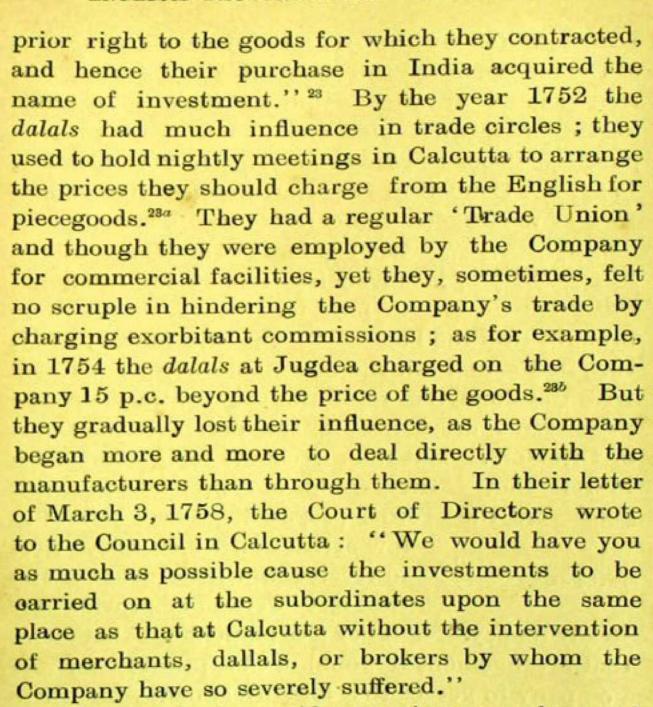


The factories at first procured goods through dalals (brokers) who entered into contracts to bring the goods within a fixed date.

Meaning of invest—These dalals received dadni or advance money from the agents of the factories to the amount of half or three fourths of the estimated value of the cloths in order to be able to make necessary advances to the weavers. Such advances were also made to the merchants and manufacturers. Thus by advancing money to the dalals, merchants and manufacturers, the "Company were invested with a

Muslins "were beaten with smooth chank shells, cloths of a stout texture with a mallet upon a block of tamarind wood, rice water being sprinkled over them during the operation."

22 Taylor, op. cit., pp. 87-88.



The merchants could not always make good their contracts by procuring goods to the full amount of the dadni money, and the Court of

²³ Grant, History of the East India Company, p. 67.

²³a Consultations, September 25, 1752 A.D.

²³ b They maintained that it was customary for them to receive such dustories.—Consultations, May 6, 1754 A.D.

Directors (about the year 1746) sent instructions to the members of the Council in Calcutta that they should advance dadni as little as possible to the merchants and should encourage them to purchase goods at ready money. On 29th October, 1746, the Council in Calcutta directed the gentlemen at the Jugdea Factory "to keep strictly......

Merchants not to advance dadni but to purchase goods for to pay for them as they were brought into the house." ²⁴ On 13th March, 1747, the Seths and all the merchants were acquainted with the Council's resolution to contract on the new terms according to the orders of the Court of Directors. But the merchants replied on 19th March that "they could not pretend to provide goods on the Terms proposed. There being but

few articles on which they were to receive but little Dadny and the rest were to be provided for

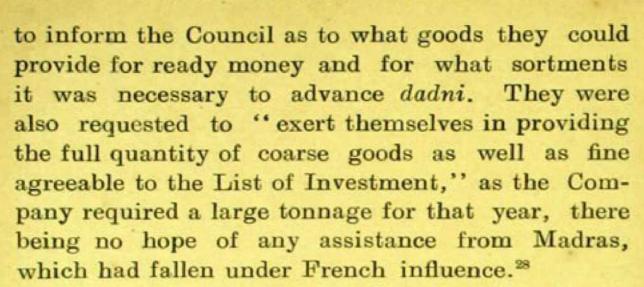
Ready money." ²⁵ They also pointed out that under that arrangement it would not be possible for the Company to get cloths for investment, for there were many articles which brought no gains but sometimes caused losses even when full dadni had been advanced upon them, particularly the coarse cloths. They further asserted that if they found

²⁴ Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 21.

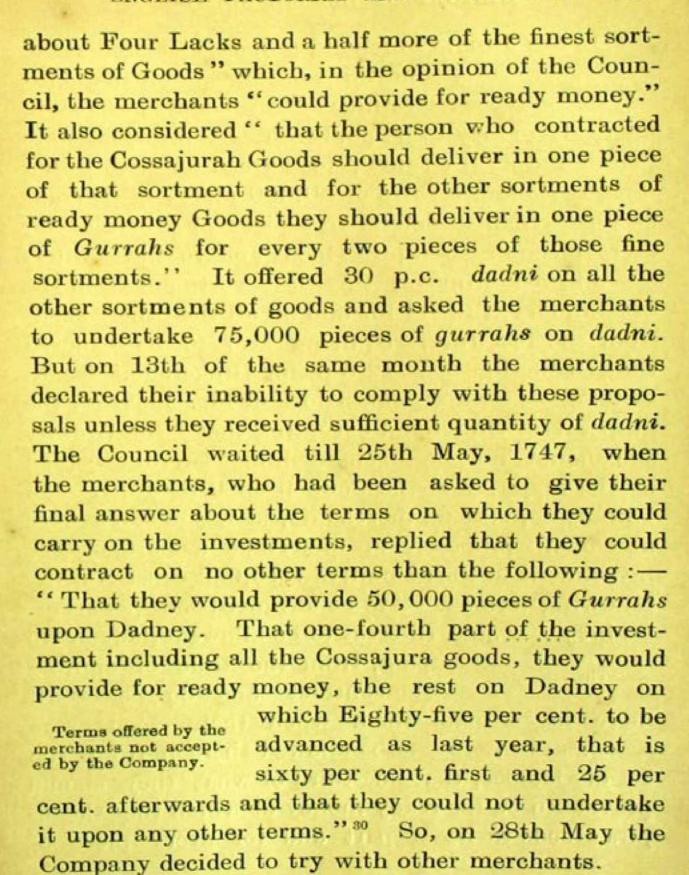
²⁵ Letter to Court, January 1748, para. 32.



any goods at the aurungs too costly to yield any profit, then they would never purchase them for ready money, and thus the Company itself would be disappointed. Moreover, they apprehended that if the Nawab's government came to know that they had changed their method of providing goods and that they furnished goods with their own money, then the Nawab's officers would "certainly make a handle thereof to fleece them and will put a stop to their bringing in goods till their demands were satisfied, as they lately served the Dutch at Cassimbazar, whose custom was always to wind off the silk in their Factory and having provided a small part on Dadney last year, the Government put a stop to all their Business till they had paid a sum of money for this new method of acting." 26 The Council pointed out that for some years past they had provided some fine goods for ready money, of which the Government had taken no notice, to which the merchants replied that " what they had provided without Dadney was but a small part in proportion to the Dadney Goods and that they had kept it very private among themselves, whence it might have escaped the Government's notice." 27 The merchants were then told that the Company expected them to comply with the orders of the Court of Directors, and they were asked

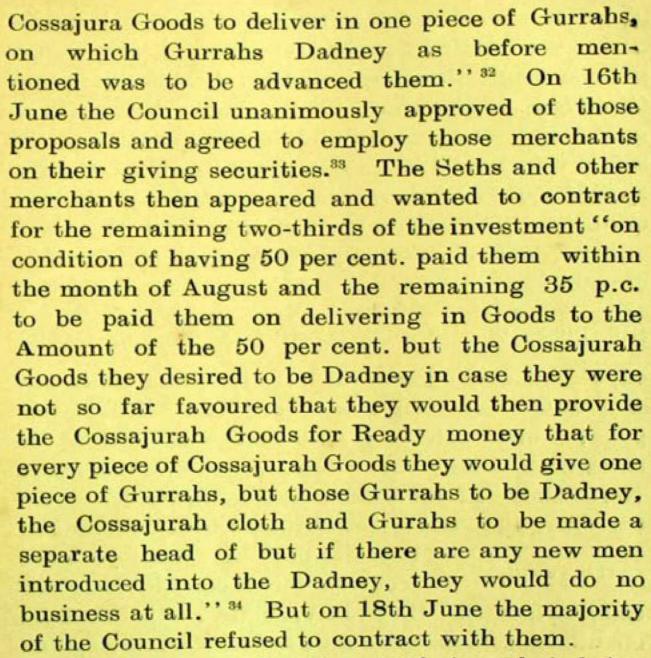


The merchants expressed their inability to act according to the proposals of the Company and replied on 9th April "that the times are such from the great scarcity of Money and apprehensions of impediments from the Morattoes (Marathas) the most they could think of undertaking for Ready Money was one fourth part of the Investment and unless they received Dadney for the other Three Fourths, they could not promise to complete the investment and that they could not possibly undertake more than Fifty-thousand pieces of Gurrahs besides the last year's Ballance of that Article." 29 Thus, finding it difficult to have contracts for the expected quantity of ready money goods and gurrahs, the Council thought that "the most likely way to procure a quantity of Gurrahs and goods for ready money was to set aside all the Cossajura (goods manufactured at Kasijora in the Midnapur district) Goods which would amount to





On 8th June, Omichand proposed to undertake one-third of the Company's in-Agreement with vestment "in equal proportion for ready money to be paid him as the goods were prized and at the same price agreed for with other merchants and a third of 50,000 pieces of Gurrahs besides which to deliver in a piece of Gurrahs for every piece of Cossajura Goods and to have interest allowed him on this last sortment from the 1st January till paid for and on all the other goods from the 1st July, requiring also to be excused the Deduction as. 12-6 p. for Brokerage." 31 spite of the strong opposition of Mr. Jackson, the proposals of Omichand excepting that "the Brokerage should not be excused him" were accepted by the majority of the Council on 10th June. On 13th June, sixteen merchants, of whom seven were new men, proposed to undertake a part of the investment to the amount of 7,70,000 rupees on the following terms:-"to be advanced 50 per cent. Dadney and Interest to be allowed thereon till paid, from the time of signing Their terms. the contract and 35 per cent. more to be paid them when their Goods were prized and interest to be allowed thereon from the 1st of October, that one-third of what they should provide to be for ready money of which the Cossajura Goods to be a part and for every piece of



On the same day 'musters' (samples) being brought in by other merchants with whom the Council had decided to contract, the Council proposed to them to lower the prices of several 'musters.' But the merchants replied that it was impossible to do so "as the price of cotton was so

high, workmen so scarce and times so bad and that some Articles must be raised as they could not perform them, viz., Gurrahs, Soosies and Chucklaes. The two latter articles being silken goods and the price of silk being so extravagantly raised they would be excessive thin and the fabric spoiled unless there be an advance allowed them." The Council complied with the merchants' demand of 82 rupees per corge of 'gurrahs' of 36/24 and agreed to advance them Re. 1-8-0

per piece on the fine soosies of $\frac{50}{1.5/8}$ and 40/2 and on the muster of ordinary soosies of 40/2 an advance of Re. 1-6-0 per piece, and Re. 1-12-0 on the muster of chucklaes. All the other sortments of goods were fixed on the same prices as in the last year. On 6th July those merchants, whom the Council

had decided to employ, gave security for each other in three sets, the while on 13th July, eight of the old merchants expressed repentance for their obstinacy and proposed to undertake part of the investment to the amount of Rs. 3,60,000 on the same terms as agreed to by the new merchants, recently engaged by the Council. The Council accepted their proposals.

³⁵ Ibid, para, 41.

³⁶ Ibid, paras 43.



About the beginning of March 1747, the Council repeated its orders of the previous year to the Jugdea, Balasore and Cassimbazar factories.

About the beginning of March 1747, the Council repeated its orders of the previous year to the Jugdea Factory to "provide goods for ready money expressly forbidding

them the advancing any on Dadney." 37 But the dalals there expressed their inability to transact business "in any other method than has been practised two years before, which has been by advancing money small sums" and petitioned that "this method may be continued otherwise they should be compelled to seek some other protection." 38 On 21st March the Council directed Mr. Heath, Chief of the Balasore Factory, "to provide as many goods as possible without advancing Dadney." 50 On 22nd May, the Cassimbazar factory was also ordered "to proceed in providing the silk Piece-goods and as many Gurrahs as they possibly could on the best terms advancing no more Dadney than was absolutely necessary for the provision of their Goods." 40 The Council sometimes agreed to give dadni if the merchants furnished strong securities.41

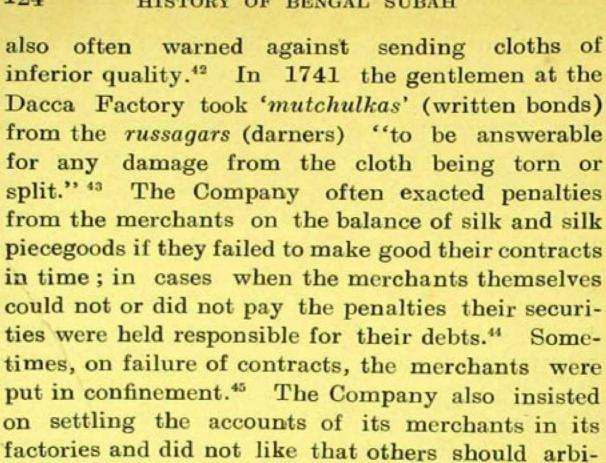
The Company always tried to maintain a strict control over its merchants, who strict control of the Company over the had to give securities and were merchants.

³⁷ Letter to Court, 10th January, 1748, para. 55.

³⁸ Ibid, para. 58. 39 Ibid, para. 162.

⁴⁰ Ibid, para. 183.

¹¹ Letter to Court, 4th January, 1754, para. 62.



The Chiefs and the subordinate officers of the

Effective control of the Council in Calcutta over the Chiefs and the subordinate officers of the factories.

The Chiefs and the subordinate officers were also under the effective control of the Council in Calcutta. The members of the Council regularly inspected the goods sent by the different factories; they sometimes demanded explanations from the factory Chiefs when the articles sent by them were of bad

trate in these affairs.46

Letter to Court, 11th December, 1741, para. 86; Ibid, dated 10th January, 1748, para. 201.

¹³ Letter to Court, 11th December, 1741, para. 114.

Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 15.

Letter to Court, 19th November, 1748, para. 43.

Letter to Court, 10th January, 1748, para. 250.



quality and even returned these to them 47 with strong orders and instructions for improving in future the quality of investments.48 While inspecting on 12th November, 1753, the goods sent by the Dacca Factory on 10th October, 1753, the members of the Council in Calcutta found that these "were very illsorted (and that there was) too great a difference from outside folds to the inside ones. The Baftas (a kind of calico) in particular were very badlyd ressed, the inside Folds very thin and the Fabricks very bad." The Dacca factors were then asked not to procure those cloths, unless they could remedy the said defects. The members of the Council also noted that "the flowered work in general was worked with too coarse a thread, the flowers very indifferently worked and the inside one extremely bad. The Tanjeebs and Terrendams have a greater difference than usual between the inside and outside Folds and the coarse threads were not well packed out." 49 They, therefore, directed the gentlemen at the Dacca factory "to be more careful in the Provision of their Investment for the future, and that the complaints of the flowered goods should be obviated, particularly that of working the flowers with a coarse thread." The Company's servants, who received employments in the

Letter to Court, 4th January, 1754, para. 71.

Letter to Court, 7th December, 1754, p. 71. 48

Letter to Court, 4th January, 1754, para. 93.

factories, were required to submit securities. On 8th March, 1746, the Council in Calcutta considered the orders of the Court of Directors in relation to taking security from the servants and decided that the "Chiefs of Cassimbazar, Patna, Dacca, should give security in the sum of fifty thousand rupees each, the Chief of Jugdea and Ballasore Thirty thousand rupees each and each of the Council at subordinates sixteen thousand rupees and the writers eight thousand rupees each." 50

The Chiefs of the factories and their assistants,

The Chiefs and the subordinate officers of the factories allowed to engage in private trade, — employment of Indan menials and sepoys in the factories.

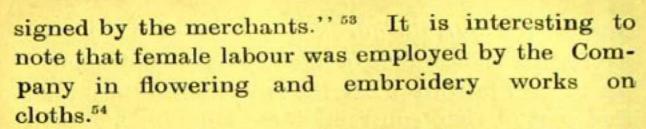
drawing small salaries, were allowed to engage in private trade and to enjoy its profits.⁵¹ The factories employed Indian menials for minor offices

concerning the investments and sepoys for guarding the factories and escorting the goods from the aurungs to the factories and thence to Calcutta. On 29th July, 1747, the Council in Calcutta 'ordered that no Black servant employed by the Company should be employed in any private person's service at subordinates. List of Banians, Gomasthas to be sent and all merchants and Assamys 224 accounts to be Ballanced yearly and

⁵⁰ Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 122,

⁵¹ Taylor, op. cit., pp. 87-88. 52 Ibid.

⁵²a "A cultivator, a tenant, a renter, a non-proprietary cultivator; also a dependant; also a debtor, a culprit, a criminal, a defendant in suit."—Wilson's Glossary, p. 35.



We find instances of new aurungs being started in order to meet the high demands of the Court of Directors for gurrahs (e.g., 90,000 pieces for the year 1753). In the year 1754, the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory found it greatly difficult to provide any large quantity of gurrahs

Establishment of new aurangs—their withdrawal in future. from the existing aurungs and so the Council permitted them in the month of June to establish

new aurungs at Imambazar (or Elambazar in the Birbhum district), Nonoor (Nannur), Moortally and Cowgram (Kagram). The Council decided in the month of July to direct the gomastas to go on providing goods according to previous orders, sent gomastas to the newly

Letter to Court, 4th February, 1746, para. 18.

Women, as I have already noted in the section on "The Position of Women," produced much of the yarn required for cloth manufacture in Bengal Thus the hands of women greatly helped this important industry of their country. Up to the time of the Great War (when the Turkish market was lost to Dacca) the employment of women in embroidery and flowering work (e.g., chiefly Kashida work) was very common.

⁵⁵ Letter to Court, 9th September, 1754, para. 27.

established gurrah aurungs and asked the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar Factory to "endeavour if possible to prevail with the merchants to reduce that part of their contracts." ⁵⁶ But owing to the reduction of the Court of Directors' orders for gurrahs to 35,000 pieces in the year 1755, the Council recalled the gomastas from the three new aurungs except from that at Elambazar where it expected to get 200 maunds of lac. ⁵⁷

From 1754 onward the method of procuring investments was changed. Method of procuring vestments changed Council in Calcutta began since investments since 1754then the practice of getting goods directly from the aurungs instead of only depending on the country merchants and the chief fac-The Maldah gomastas received orders tories. for 45,800 pieces of cloths for the Maldah. year 1754 but the Council apprehended that they would not be able to provide these in time because they could not begin their purchases before 11th August, their chief gomasta being detained till then in Calcutta for the settle-So far as Santipur and ment of accounts.58 Burran were concerned the Coun-Santipur and Burran. cil expected to get from those two places in time all the goods ordered, that is, 12,000 pieces of different sortments of cloths at the

⁵⁶ Ibid, para. 28.

⁵⁷ Letter to Court, 8th December, 1755, para. 45.

⁵⁸ Letter to Court, 9th September, 1754, para. 44.



former and 20,000 pieces from the latter. The gomastas at Haripal had invested for 6,250 pieces but they hoped to procure nothing more than 3,000 pieces for the ships of that season, because scarcity of provisions had reduced the inhabitants to the state of poverty and they were, therefore, 'afraid to make large advances of Putney 500 (that being) the method of purchasing most of their goods.' 60 The Baranagore aurung was directed to provide 12,900 pieces of different sortments; the gomastas there began to procure these since 2nd May and were able to purchase 4,816

these since 2nd May and were able to purchase 4,816 pieces (for dadni) and 4,000 pieces for ready money by 17th November. In Calcutta 20,700 pieces were to be provided, and of these the Council got 1,400 pieces by the end of the year and hoped to get all in time. The Dooneacally (Dhaniakhali) aurung also hoped to complete

its investment for 7,750 pieces within the season. As at the Golagore aurung the method of buying cloths was by 'advancing Putney,' the gomastas there could purchase

⁵⁹ Ibid, paras, 45 and 46.

⁵⁵a Putney or "act of ordering goods from a manufacturer." Wilson, op. cit., p. 410.

⁶⁰ Letter to Court, 9th September, 1754, para. 47.

⁶¹ Ibid, para. 48.

⁶² Ibid, para. 49.

⁶³ Ibid, para. 51.

only 7,343 pieces by 5th November and did not hope to procure more than 5,000 pieces within the season though they were required to provide 17,000 pieces. Though the gomastas at the Buddal

Buddal. aurung had began to procure investments so late as 13th July, yet they assured the Council in Calcutta that they would be able to purchase all the 12,200 pieces for which they had received orders. The Council did not expect more than 21,000 pieces, out of 33,100 ordered, from the aurung at Harial as the

gomastas there could not begin

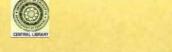
their purchases before 10th September, the chief gomasta being detained in Calcutta for a long time for the settlement and readjustment of the accounts of that aurung, and also because of the "prodigious rise of waters thereabout which overflowed the country and occasioned so great a scarcity of provisions which made the gomasthas cautious how they advanced the weavers any Puttun—the method of doing their business there." ⁶⁰ The Council in Calcutta at first asked the gomastas at the Sonamukhi

silk and 'tossary' (tasar, an inferior sort of silk) goods and 20,000 pieces of gurrahs, but directed them afterwards to 'lessen

⁶⁴ Ibid, para. 52.

⁶⁵ Ibid, para. 53.

⁶⁶ Ibid, para. 54.



their purchase of gurrahs "1" as the Court of Directors had reduced the quantity of that article in their list of investments for that year. The gomastas, however, replied that they had received the Council's orders so late that they would be compelled to purchase 12,000 or 13,000 pieces of gurrahs. 8

In that year the Company made the following advances to the different aurungs:—Maldah (Rs. 1,75,164-4-0), Buddal (Rs. 30,362-1-3), Harial (Rs. 1,90,143-15-0), Khirpai (Rs. 1,99,374-15-3), Santipur (Rs. 1,09,538-9-0), Burran (Rs. 1,14,110-0-0), Cuttrah or Rennel's Chatterah near Serampur (Rs. 43,208-15-0), Baranagore (Rs. 50,776-1-6), Enumbazar or Elambazar (Rs. 4,33,400-0-0). It received from those places goods of the value of Rs. 3,41,991-6-0 by the end of that year and hoped to get goods for the remainder before the Company's ships left Bengal.⁶⁹

The Court of Directors sent their sentiments

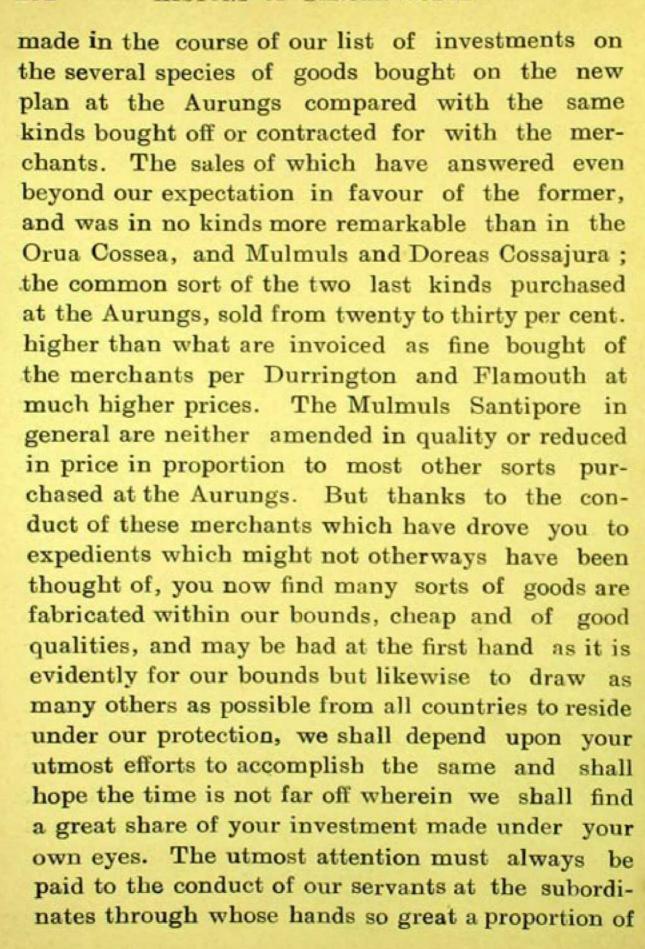
Opinion of the Court of Directors on the new method of investments. about the new method of carrying investments and also some instructions for future guidance in their letter to the Council in

Calcutta, dated 31st January, 1755:—"As the sale of our Bengal goods is now ended, we find it necessary to confirm to you the several remarks

⁶⁷ Ibid, para. 55.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.





our estate passes. The annual remarks we have made in our lists of investment, together with what appears upon the face of your letters and

To be careful about the conduct of the servants at the ries.

consultations, especially those received last season, show the necessity of it. At Cassimbazar our servants have so remarkably

fallen off, in that once valuable article of raw silk, not to mention others that we cannot suppress the suspicion that must naturally arise against their management. Our servants at Dacca likewise who for a considerable time gave us great satisfaction, have of late done quite the reverse, and we have as much reason to complain of our people at Jugdea.

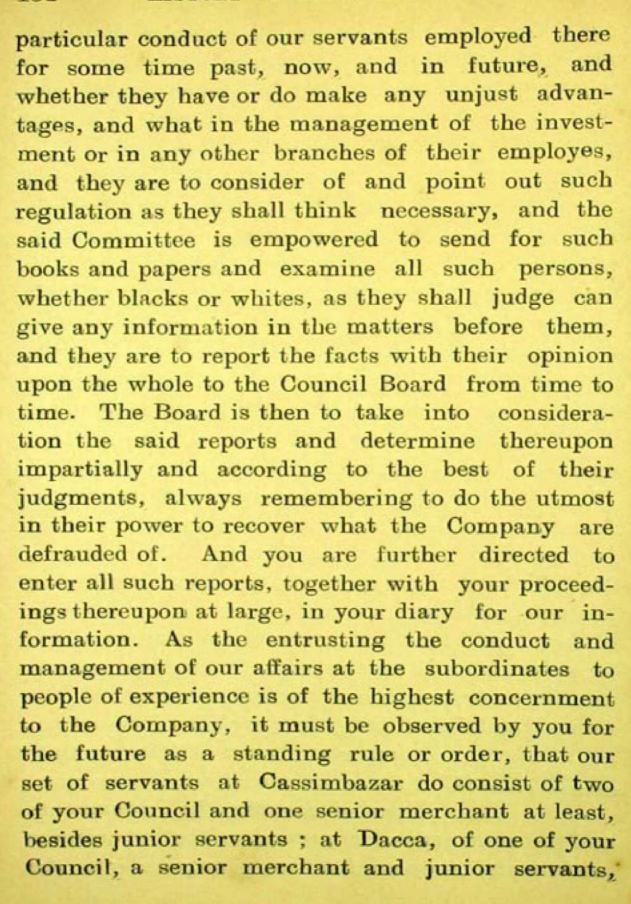
-a supervising

We therefore hereby direct that Committee to be form- immediately upon the receipt of this a supervising committee be

formed which is to be composed of the President for the time being, Mr. Charles Manningham, Mr. Richard Becher, and, Mr. John Zepheniah Holwell, and in case of the death or absence of any of the before-mentioned persons the President is to fill up the said Committee to the number of four with such other members of the Council as he shall judge best qualified for such an

important trust. This committo look after tee is to enquire into the mansubordinate factories. ner of making the investments

and the management in general at the subordinate settlements, they are likewise to enquire into the





and that one of the best qualified servants next below your Council be always appointed chief of Jugdea, Luckipore or wherever else the Jugdea settlement shall be moved to."

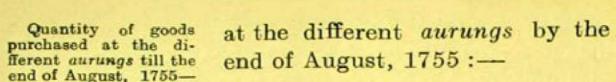
In conformity with the orders of the Court of Directors, a committee consist-Formation of a ing of four members, the Committee. President, Mr. Manningham, Mr. Becher, and Mr. Frankland, was constituted for managing the aurungs.70 The Council in Calcutta decided unanimously on 10th March, 1755, that the method of making purchases at the aurungs themselves should be -purchase of goods at the aurungs concontinued.71 Considering that the goods could be available early in the season at cheaper rates than in the months when the agents of the other European Companies would begin their purchases, the Council directed the Export-Warehousekeeper to write to the gomastas at the aurungs to continue buying without waiting till their accounts for the last year were adjusted, which, as the Council thought, could not be settled before August or September, 1755. 72

The following quantity of cloths was purchased

⁷⁰ Letter to Court, 8th December, 1755, para. 52.

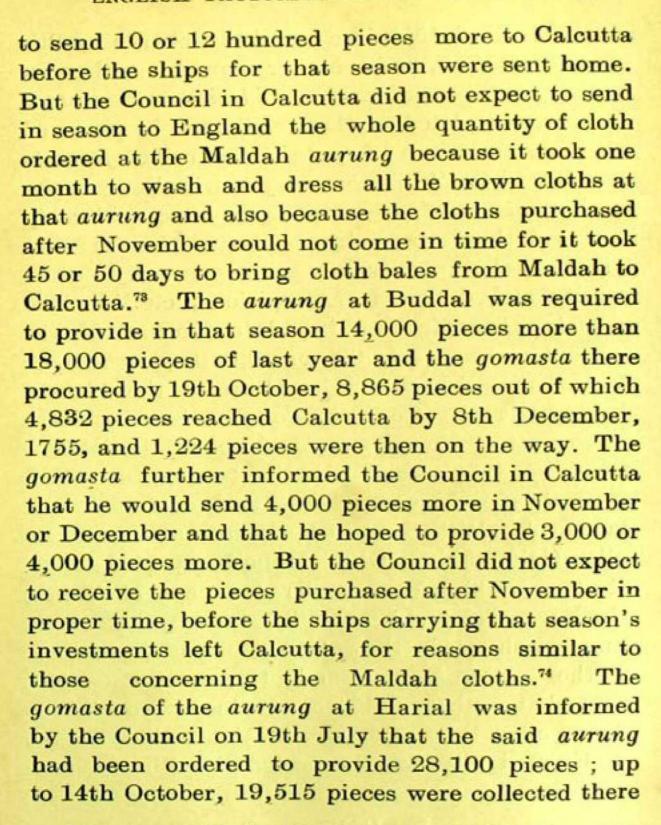
⁷¹ Letter to Court, 11th September, 1755, pars. 18.

⁷² Ibid. and the comment of the cold no north organ



18th of August	5,249
13th of August	5,902
18th Do.	8,767
27th Do.	2,663
13th Do.	1,974
13th of July	10,825
11th Do.	3,454
21st of August	22,910
26th Do.	3,367
13th Do.	3,709
2nd Do.	2,905
2nd Do.	414
31st of July	3,580
	13th of August 18th Do. 27th Do. 13th of July 11th Do. 21st of August 26th Do. 13th Do. 2nd Do. 2nd Do. 2nd Do.

The Maldah gomasta was informed by the Council in Calcutta on 20th July that in the list of investments received per 'Rhode' the proportion of cloth to be provided at the Maldah aurung was 46,800 pieces, that is, 500 pieces more than the orders of the previous season. By the 14th of October, 19,977 pieces were purchased and these, together with 9,598 pieces on account of last year's balance remaining there, amounted to 29,590 pieces, out of which 15,006 pieces arrived in Calcutta by the 8th of December, 1755, and 7,982 pieces were then on the way. The gomasta further hoped



⁷³ Letter to Court, 8th December, 1755 A.D., paras. 29 and 30.

⁷⁴ Ibid, para. 31,

out of which 6,455 pieces reached Calcutta by 8th December, 1755, and another parcel was then on the way. The orders for addaties and cossaes were not completed as these could not be procured without an advance of patni which the gomasta was obliged to "give out very sparingly from the poverty of most of the weavers considerably increased this season by an Inundation in that part of the country causing a very great scarcity and dearness of provisions, etc." 75 The gomasta there further hoped to procure of the different sortments 7,000 or 8,000 pieces more than what had been purchased up to the 14th of October but the Council thought that the cloths bought after November could not reach Calcutta in time for being sent to England for reasons similar to those assigned with regard to Maldah and Baddaul.76 With regard to the aurung at Doneacolley (Dhaniakhali) the Council expected to get all the 7,500 pieces ordered except allibanies, which were prepared only by a few weavers. It was apprehended that "extraordinary dearness of the cotton yarn and Herba silk (would) somewhat enhance Price of Goods provided at Doneacolley this season." 77 About the aurung at Khirpai it was expected by the Council

⁷⁵ Ibid, para 32.

⁷⁶ Ibida

⁷⁷ Ibid, para. 33.



that all the 15,100 pieces of white cloths ordered would be procured, as the gomasta there had purchased 9,840 pieces up to 29th October out of which 5,165 pieces reached Calcutta by 8th December. 78 At that aurung, the goods were to be purchased with ready money except 3,000 pieces for which 'Putton' (patni) was to be advanced. The Council apprehended that the goods at that aurung would be somewhat dearer in that season "by reason of the large purchases made there by the Danes, Prussians, Portuguese, etc., who have raised the Markets at an adjacent aurung called Patna." 79 In the aurung near Calcutta 202,700 had been ordered in 1754 and 23,600 pieces were added for the year 1755, out of which 9,695 pieces were made ready by 26th November, 1755. and the Council expected to get 16,000 pieces more before sending the ships to England. That aurung provided coloured cloths but as the price of indigo, which could be formerly purchased at 7 or 8 rupees per maund, had then gone up to 22 rupees per maund, the Council apprehended that the dyes would be worse than usual. Investments were procured there at high prices and with great difficulty because of the "dearness of cotton yarn, etc., materials and provisions." The aurung at

⁷⁸ Ibid, para. 34.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid, para. 35.

⁸¹ Ibid, para. 36.

Cuttrah was ordered to provide 13,000 pieces out of which 6,293 pieces became ready and the Council got 5,093 pieces by 26th October. The gomasta there thought that he could provide 5,000 or 6,000 pieces more, but that aurung suffered great "disadvantages in regard to the price of Indigo, etc., material and other provisions." Sla The gomasta of the aurung at Gollagore was asked by the Council to purchase 13,000 pieces of cloths, which was 4,000 pieces less than the previous year's orders, and not to provide soot romals, which had been very dear during the previous year. He could purchase 6,127 pieces by 7th November and expected to procure 4,000 or 5,000 pieces more. That was "a Putton aurung" which manufactured coloured cloths but there were there at that time "the same complaints against the Exchange of Indigo, Materials, and Provision as at Cuttrah and Calcutta." 52 The aurung at Baranagore received orders for 14,600 pieces which exceeded those of the previous year by 1,700 pieces. The gomasta there procured 7,407 pieces by 14th October of which 6,240 pieces were sent to Calcutta, and he expected to purchase 5,000 or 6,000 pieces more within the season. That was also a "Putton aurung" and had similar troubles as in the above-mentioned three

⁸¹ª Ibid.

⁸² Ibid, para. 87.



aurungs.83 The aurung at Santipur was ordered to procure 12,500 pieces of cloths and 80 maunds of fine cotton yarn; 8,284 pieces became ready at that aurung by 9th November and 5,296 pieces reached Calcutta with 15 maunds of fine yarn. The gomastas there expected to provide 2,000 3,000 pieces more, but the Council in Calcutta apprehended that the orders would not be fully complied with as cotton was " so very dear and difficult to be obtained." 84 The aurung at Haripal received orders for 133,500 pieces, of which 5,163 pieces could be purchased by 2nd November and 1,644 pieces reached Calcutta. gomasta there expected to provide 5,000 or 6,000 pieces more within the season, but that " being a Putton aurung, the poverty of the weavers there " had compelled the gomasta to be very careful in advancing money, and the Council therefore apprehended that the orders for that aurung would not be completely satisfied.85 The gomasta at Burron was expected to comply with the orders for 20,000 pieces, as he had been able to procure 14,108 pieces by 29th October.86 The aurung at Sonamukhi had received orders in 1754 for 2,900 pieces of silk goods, 200 maunds of lac and 20,000 pieces of gurrahs, but in the year 1755

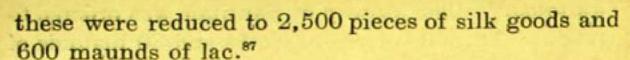
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⁸³ Ibid, para. 38.

⁸⁵ Ibid, para. 40.

⁸⁴ Ibid, para. 39.

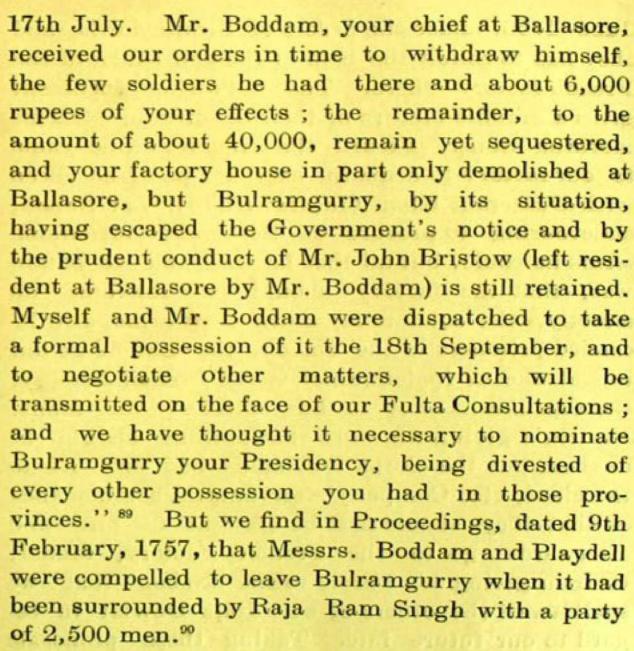
⁸⁶ Ibid, para, 41,



As the gomastas had begun the purchase of investments for 1755 since the month February, 1755, the Council in Calcutta at first expected that all the orders would be duly satisfied. But, as we have already seen, the prices of provisions, indigo and other materials remained very high till the month of November, "when (only) the prospect of a plentiful crop of rich harvest reduced the value of Grain." 88

With the beginning of quarrels with Sirajud-Quarrels with Nawab Sirajuddowla and distress of the Company. dowla, the Company's investments for the years 1756 and 1757 suffered greatly. The

Cassimbazar factory being stormed, the Company's gomastas of that part had to stop their work in the different aurungs. Holwell wrote to the Court of Directors on 30th November, 1756:—"On Cassimbuzar being invested, we wrote to the several subordinates and to all our gosmastas at the several aurungs, advising them of the Subah's proceedings, and to be upon their guard and hold themselves in readiness to retreat with the Company's effects etc. and on intelligence of the capture of the place and the Suba's march to Calcutta, we sent them orders to withdraw and join us with all expedition. But these orders were too late, excepting your factory at Luckypore, as I have already intimated in my letter of the



The gentlemen at the Dacca factory were re
Troubles of the duced to straits when it was gentlemen at the Captured by Jasarat Khan, Naib of Dacca, towards the end of

Hill, op. cits, Vol. II, p. 52; Letter from the Council in Calcutta to the Court of Directors, ibid, pp. 166-982

⁹⁰ Long, op. cit., p. 93.

June 1756, under the orders of Sirajuddowla, and they had to solicit the help of the gentlemen of the French factory there. The following document gives a graphic picture of their condition :- "This morning Monsr. Fleurin the French Second came to our factory to acquaint us that he had been with Dusseraut Khan (Jasarat Khan), our Nabob, endevouring to procure us the most favourable terms he could, but all that he was able to obtain was, that the factory should be delivered up directly, the soldiers lay down their arms, and be carried prisoners to the Nabob, the Ladies go out in Palankeens (palanquins) to the French Factory, the Palankeens not to be searched on Mons. Fleurin's giving his word that nothing should be in them but the cloths the ladies had on. As to the chief, etc. Company's servants Nabob demanded that they should first be brought to him and afterwards go to the French Factory, Monsr. Courtin giving his Parole to the Nabob that we shall await the orders of Seer Raja Dowlat in regard to our future fate. Taking these proposals into consideration, we think them very hard. But as Monsr. Fleurin assures us that very little alteration can be expected. Agreed that we beg Monsr. Fleurin to endevour to save us the disgrace of going to the Durbar and obtain permission that we go directly to the French, also that the soldiers may not be illused. This he promises to endevour to obtain and to return in the afternoon. The



ENGLISH FACTORIES AND INVESTMENTS

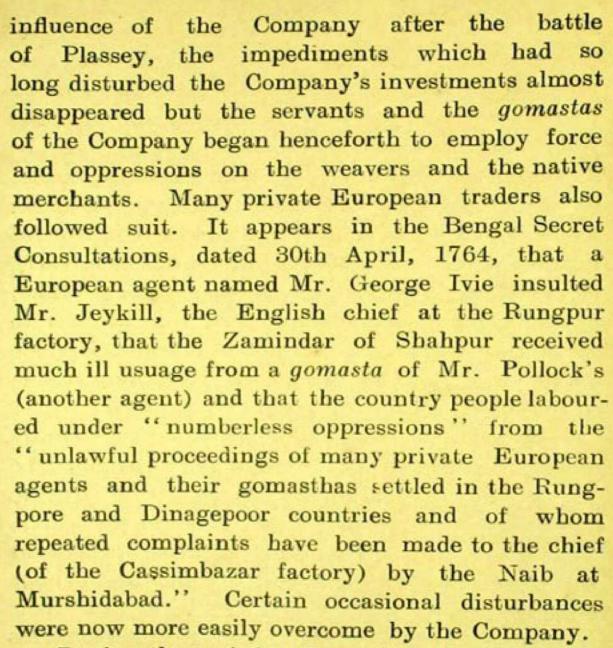
28th June in the afternoon Monsr. Fleurin returned and acquainted us he had obtained permission for the Gentlemen to go to the French Factory without going to the Durbar and that the Nabob had promised the soldiers should not be ill-used or put in irons. We then gave our Paroles to the French chief, gave our Military prisoners to the Nabob's people, and are now with sorrowful hearts leaving our Factory being permitted to carry off nothing but the cloths upon our Backs, having still this satistaction left, that we have to our utmost discharged our duty to our Hon'ble Employers." ⁹¹ The Dacca factory was not restored to the English until the following year.

But after the battle of Plassey and the consequent change of government in Bengal, the Company after the battle of Plassey.

Company found itself free to provide its investments. The Council in Calcutta then sent the gomastas with money to the different aurungs directing them to "provide the cloth of their respective Aurungs on the most reasonable terms they can procure them taking particular care not to debase their quality." Due to the increased

⁹¹ Consultations at Dacca, the 28th June, 1756, at six in the evening, Bengal and Madras Papers (I. R. D.), Vol. II.

⁹² Letter from the Council in Calcutta to the Court of Directors, dated 20th August, 1757, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.



During the period under review, the East India

Interruptions to the E. I. Co.'s investments due to general disorder of the time.

Company's investments were occasionally interrupted by various factors, most of which had their origin in the general dis-

orders and lack of governance of the time. When the province itself was being tormented by troubles from within and invasions and ravages from

outside, its traders could hardly expect a smooth and easy way of commerce. The Maratha invasions appeared as a terrible scourge (a) The Maratha invasions. and calamity on the country, and I have pointed out in other chapters how they affected the different aspects of the economic life of the people. It may be also noted here that their influence was felt on the Company's investments and trade. The president of the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on 3rd February, 1743: "Are greatly concerned, Investment falls short this season, and some goods not so good as usual by Dearness of Provisions, excessive price of cotton and Troubles by Morattas." 98 Not to speak of the interior parts of the country, even in Calcutta, the Council experienced much trouble in procuring goods and it wrote to the Court of Directors: "Fear Great Difficultys in providing goods at Calcutta from the Damages done in the country by the Late troubles." of The Council in Calcutta tried to keep information about "every Material Motion of either party (the party of the Nawab or of the Marathas)" in order to guide the subordinate factories properly, and these factories were ordered to send goods whenever danger subsided.95 From copious references in the records of

⁹³ Para. 67 (I.R.D.).

⁹⁴ Ibid, para. 18.

⁹⁵ Letter to Court, 8th January, 1742, para. 81.

the time, 96 we find that the troubles due to the Maratha invasions continued fully till the conclusion of a peace between the Nawab and the Marathas in the year 1751; and even after that the general economic decline caused by these invasions affected the Company's investments. 97

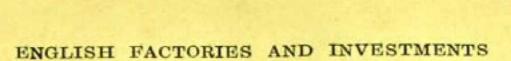
In May 1742 the Marathas entered Murshidabad and plundered the house of Jagat Seth and others, which "put a stop to all business, the Merchants and weavers flying wherever they come." The invasion of February 1743 was also "attended with all the unhappy consequences of the Last, their rout much the same, nothing but towns were actually burnt. The Nabob's troops also plundered greatly so that the people Deserted the Aurungs where Gurrahs are made, and an entire stop was put to business for some time at Calcutta, Cussimbuzar and Patna." The Company suffered much loss in its 'dadni' money advanced to the merchants, because the latter could neither pay anything in exchange nor

Letter to Court, 13th August, 1743, paras 8, 9, 11; Letter to Court, 4th February, 1746; Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746; Letter to Court, 28th February, 1748.

⁹⁷ Letter to Court, 9th September, 1754.

⁹⁷⁴ Letter to Court, dated 31st July, 1742, para. 10.

²⁷ Letter to Court, dated 13th August, 1743, para. 10.



could return the money. 97c In June 1745, the Marathas renewed their ravages with vigour which occasioned great confusion and prevented the proof the Company's business at several aurungs.97d This time they entered (probably from the direction of Bundelkhand) through Bihar (viá Patna), plundered Futwah and pillaged 4,200 pieces of cloth belonging to the English Company; they also burnt a godown wherein 7,168 maunds of saltpetre had been deposited. Thus, in that season, the Company could not get any supply of saltpetre from Patna. 97e The advance of the Marathas up to Katwah and their encampment near the gurrah aurungs prevented the Company from providing gurrahs in sufficient quantity.97f The chief of the Cassimbazar factory wrote to the Council in Calcutta on 17th February, 1746, that "the Marattoes still continuing near them makes it impossible to send the bales down with safety." 979

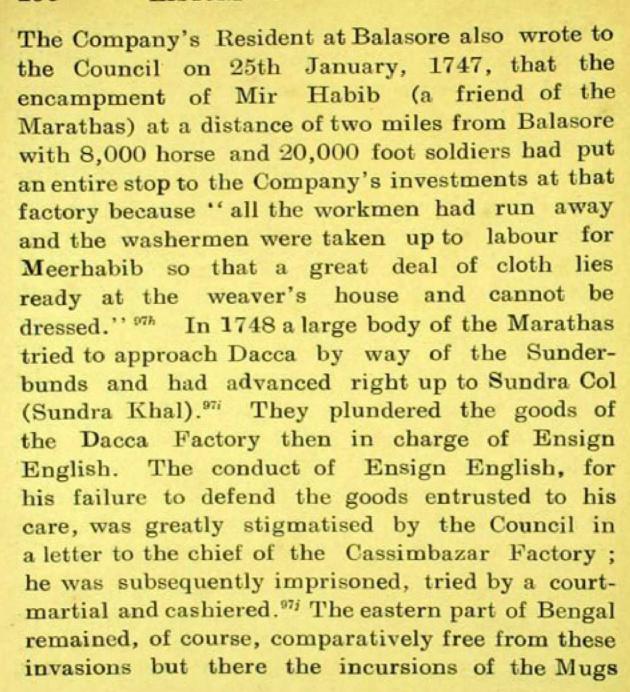
⁹⁷c Letter to Court, dated 3rd February, 1743, para. 69.

⁹⁷d Letter to Court, dated 11th August, 1745, para. 9.

^{97°} Letter to Court, dated 31st January, 1746, paras. 111-14.

^{97f} Letter to Court, dated 4th February, 1746, para. 16. "Am sorry cannot send the quantity of Gurrahs ordered, Morattoes situation on the Island of Cossimbuzar preventing all Intercourse and no goods received since these people have been there."—Letter to Court, dated 22nd February, 1746, para. 13.

⁹⁷⁹ Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 92.



⁹⁷h Ibid, para. 110.

^{97&#}x27; Perhaps one of the creeks with which the Sunderbunds abounded. [Among the contemporary native writers, Muhammad Wafa refers to the attempt of the Marathas to advance towards Dacca.—Waq'i Fath Bangala, fs. 21-22.]

97' Consultations, March 1748.



from Arracan and Chittagong proved to be a terrible impediment in the path of the Company's investments.98

The Company made some attempts to obtain a redress for their losses caused by the plunderings of the Marathas; but all their attempts ended in smoke. According to the request of the Calcutta authorities, Mr. Wake, the President of the Council at Bombay, sent a messenger to Sahu Raja with a prayer for redeeming the aforesaid losses of the Company in Bengal, but the messenger returned "without any written answer from him (Sahu Raja)" and "his trifling excuses" extinguished all hopes of redress. 984

Political disturbances and upheavals within a country invariably affect its economic condition. We find that owing to the advance of Mansur Ali Khan, the Subahdar of Oudh, into Bihar in 1743 the Company's investments for that year from the Patna Factory fell short. Similarly, the rebellions of Nawab Allahvardi's Afghan generals like Mustafa Khan, Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan and the consequent disorders and confusion within

⁹⁸ Letter to Court, 11th December, 1741, paras. 106 and 135; Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747; Letter to Court, 27th January, 1749, para. 10.

⁹⁸a Consultations, November 1748; Letter to Court, 27th January, 1749; ibid, 10th August, 1749.

⁹⁹ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, paras. 57 and 58,

Bihar added to the troubles of the Company's servants at Patna, as for example, Sahmshir Khan "demanded a General tax from the 3 European Factorys (The English, the Dutch and the French) of 40 or 50 thousand rupees." A contemporary Muslim writer, Muhammad Wafa, who given a vivid description of the ravages atrocities committed by the Afghan rebels, has remarked that "they plundered every shop and bazar and took away whatever they could find in cash or kind." As a matter of fact, for some time, they kept the whole city trembling. The contemporary Bihar historian, Gulam Husain, has also remarked that "during all this time the city was a prey to all the horrors of sack and plunder." 102 One can well imagine how these turmoils hampered the collection of investments by the Company.

These disturbances subjected the Company to

(c) Exactions of the Nawab. the payment of contributions to the Nawab. the Nawab's government. Nawab

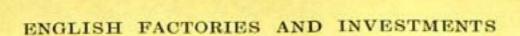
Allahvardi was in general impartial towards the European traders, 103 but under the pressure of the

¹⁰⁰ Letter to Court, 19th November, 1748, para. 56;
Consultations, June 1748.

¹⁰¹ Waqa'i Fath Bangala, fs. 50-52. (This is a contemporary Persian Manuscript preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, and also in the State Library of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.)

¹⁰² Seir, Vol. II, p. 40.

on 'East India Company's Trade.'



troubles in his kingdom he was compelled to demand money from the East India Company with the argument that those who enjoyed benefits from the country must also share in its defence. Occasional interferences in the affairs of the Company's factories by the officers of the Nawab's government, scattered through different parts of the country, sometimes affected their (d) Conduct of the business.104 The Nawab, how-Nawab's officers. ever, tried to redress their grievances when complaints were made to him. Similarly, minor internal disputes proved to be an impediment before the Company's merchants in the matter of procuring articles for investment. When on the 12th of August, 1751, the Council in Calcutta asked the merchants if they cauld provide (e) Minor internal disputes. Amorra (?) goods, the latter replied that "the Rajah of that place was dead, his brothers quarreling about the succession and their mother endeavouring to put the government into the hands of a third person, they could not think of venturing to send their money thither to provide Goods being afraid during these troubles their Gomasthas would be plundered." 105

¹⁰⁴ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, paras. 82-84;
Ibid, dated 2nd January, 1752, para. 50; Long's Selections, p. 93.

¹⁰⁵ Letter to Court, 20th August, 1751, para. 54.

These political disturbances and also occasional

(f) Dearness of provisions and high prices of articles.

inundations 106 caused dearness of provisions and high prices of cotton, indigo and other mate-

rials which considerably affected the Company's investments, as their merchants, dalals and gomastas being thereby exposed to straitened circumsometimes failed to make good their stances contracts duly and also often demanded high prices and ready money for purchasing goods. During the years 1742-43 the business of the Balasore factory suffered for dearness of provisions.107 On the 28th of October, 1752, the gentlemen at the Jugdea factory tried to explain the defect in their investment by informing the Council of the "very extraordinary rise of cotton there that the value of their baftaes was increased about 20 per cent. beyond their general price, since which cotton has had no fall and rise which was then as usual at near two maunds for a rupee has rose to 25 seers, so that the manufacture of a piece of Jugdea cloth from two annas has rose to five annas. That these inconveniences occasion rise in their baftaes in the whole of above 25 per cent. and as notwithstanding they have their cloth at its old price so the defect in quality will appear they hope as little as ought to be expected." 108 The Dacca factory also

¹⁰⁶ Letter to Court, 8th December, 1755, para. 32.

¹⁰⁷ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, para. 65.

¹⁰⁸ Consultations, dated 13th November, 1752.



complained at that time of high price of cotton.100 From several references 110 in contemporary records we find that this state of things continued all throughout the period.

The acute currency disorders of the time very often put obstacles in the path (g) Currency troubles and scarcity of money. of the Company's investments. For their investments in Bengal the Company at that time imported bullion from home which was exchanged here with coins. 110a But the Company had to work under disadvantages caused by the multiplicity of coins, which did not always pass for the same value and were liable to varying rates of batta or discount. The Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on 8th January, 1742:-" New coined siccas not fluctuating in Trade, shroffs attempted to Raise the Batta so resolved they should pass at no more than 151 old siccas at 10, Madras rupees at 10, and Arcot of Weight at 8 Per Cent. Batta to reduce

Letter from Mr. Nicholas Clerimbault, Chief of the Dacca Factory, to the Council in Calcutta, dated 14th September, 1752 (I.R.D.).

¹¹⁰ Letter to Court, 8th December. 1755, paras. 28, 32, 33, 35.

¹¹⁰a In a contemporary tract entitled ' Thoughts on the Present State of Our Trade to India, by a merchant of London, 1754 (preserved in the Imperial Library, Calcutta), we find a protest against the export of bullion from England to India.

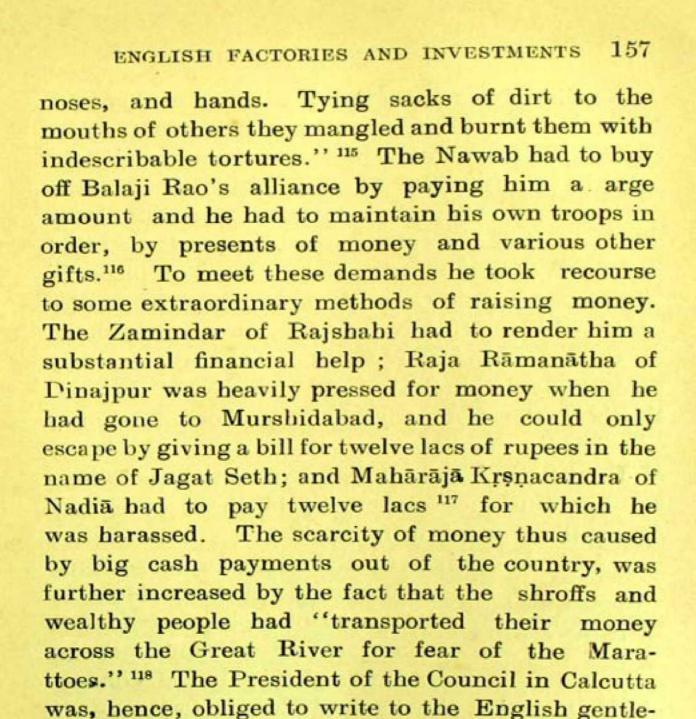
them into current rupees of Calcutta." 111 The Council again wrote on 3rd February, 1743:-" No vent for silver at Calcutta though Marathas withdrawn Mint shut up so Cossimbazar sold all the bullion at Sicca rupees 203 per 240 sicca weight." 112 The repeated invasions of the Marathas also occasioned a great scarcity of money. The bank of Jagat Seth alone was robbed of a huge amount, sums of realised rents were sometimes plundered by them on the way of their being carried to the Nawab's treasury, the important market places were, once and again, deprived of their cash and stock 113 and the ordinary people had to protect their lives by paying money to the Maratha soldiers. Gangārāma writes :- 'Again and again they (the Marathas) demanded money of the people and poured water into the noses of some who failed to supply them with it, drowned others in the tank and instantly put many of them to death.' 114 We cannot ignore Gangarama's statement as a piece of poetic exaggeration, because it is well corroborated by the author of Ryaz-us-salatin, who writes :- "These murderous freebooters drowned in the river a large number of the people, after cutting off their ears,

¹¹¹ Para. 173.

¹¹² Para. 46.

¹¹³ Muhammad Wafa, op. cit.; Holwell, I. H. E., p. 195.

¹¹⁴ Mahārāşţrapurāņa, lines 350-56.



115 P. 344. Compare:-

"Bargite luțila kata kata bā sujana | nănămate răjāra prajāra gela dhana || " Bhāratacandra's Works.

116 Holwell, op. cit, p. 133.

117 Bhāratacandra's Works; Kṣitīśavamśāvalicarita.

men at Fort St. George on the 5th of May, 1746.

118 Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 33: Muhammad Wafa, op. cit., p. 18.



for sending down to Calcutta all the money that had arrived for them, and "as much more as they could spare from their necessary occasions." In response to this the Madras authorities sent to Calcutta per 'the Phazel Salam' on 30th June, 1746, ten chests of rupees amounting to Rs. 86,000 and a box of gold mohurs containing 432 pieces. 119 The President and Council at Bombay were also addressed 120 on 13th May, 1746, for sending down to Calcutta whatever they could spare and they accordingly despatched some quantity of bullion. Further, the Company had to borrow money occasionally for its investments from the house of Jagat Seth 121 at high rates of interest. There are also instances when its business came to a standstill for want of money. 122

The bad conduct of the Company's servants

(h) Bad conduct of the Company's servants and exactions of the Nawab's Customs officers. sometimes created troubles in the matter of collecting investments. We shall find later on instances of this in the conduct

of Mr. Russel at the Cassimbazar factory and of Mr. Cole at the Patna factory. The Nawab's officers at the chowkies (toll-houses) sometimes stopped

¹¹⁹ Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 33.

¹²⁰ Ibid, para. 51.

¹²¹ Letter to Court, 10th January, 1748, paras. 68, 71, 72, 73, 76, 191, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198.

¹²² Letter to Court, 19th November, 1748, paras. 72-73.



the bales of the Company, which could be recovered by paying extra duties. 123 The customs officers very often exacted more than the usual dues. This is clear from the following list 123a of dustories 123b taken at the several ghats 123c belonging to the 'Putchelrah' (?):—

Places.	What was agreed to be taken.	What was actually taken.
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
Aurungabad (in the Mursida- bad district, 31 miles S.E. of Rajmahal).	4 0	6 0
Burragoreah (Geriah near Rajmahal in the Santhal Parganas).	1 0	10 0
Godagari (on the Padma River in Rajshahi Dis- trict).	2 0	7 0
Moorchah (Rennel's Murcha on the Cassimbazar-Ram- pur-Boalia Road).	3 0	7 0

¹²³ Ibid, para. 50.

¹²³a Letter to Court, dated 21st February, 1756.

^{1236 &}quot;A fee, a perquisite, a commission, specially a fee claimed by cashiers and servants on articles purchased, or on payments made."—Wilson's Glossary, p. 129.

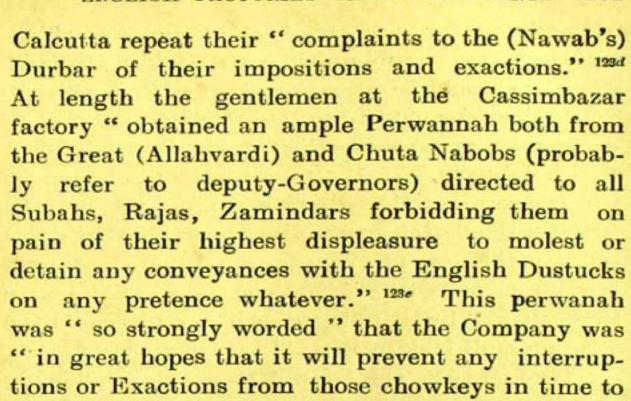
¹²³c "A landing place, steps on the bank of a river, a quay, a wharf where customs are commonly levied."—

Ibid, p. 175.

160 HISTORY OF BENGAL SUBAH

Places	What was agreed to be taken		What was actually taken.	
	Rs	A.	Rs,	A.
Jellengy (Jellinghee) (situated at the point where the river Jellinghee parts from the Padma—distance E. from Berhampore 25 miles, N. from Calcutta 105).	3	10	14	0
Butsolah.	3	6	14	0
Seberampore.	2	0	13	0
Lullydangah.	1	0	8	0
Buxypore. (There is one Buxipur in the Nadia District 30 miles north of Kṛṣṇanagar and another in the District of Jessore 56 miles N. W. of Jes- sore).	1	0	7	0
Bowleys	0	8	7	0
Turmohanny (perhaps refers to Tinmohani near Dhulian in the Murshida- bad District).	0	8	6	0
Surdah (in the Rajshahi District).	2	0	10	0
Nazerpore (in the Maldah District).	1	0	7	0
Custeah (Kustiah).	0	8	5	0
Aukdunk.	0	8	8	0
	23	0	114	0

"The chowkeys planted up and down the country" made the members of the Council in



But Mr. Watts, chief of the Cassimbazar factory, wrote to Messrs. R. Drake and C. Manningham on 21st December, 1755, "stating that the extortions practised at the chaukis cannot be stopped unless a present is given to the (Nawab's) Prime Minister Hakim Beg and explaining why such a present will be of advantage to the Company's trade." 1239 They replied to him on 7th December, 1755, "enquiring whether it is possible to have the alterations suggested by them made

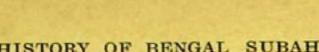
come." 123f

¹²³d Letter to Court, dated 8th December, 1755, para. 96.

¹²³ e Ibid.

¹²³f Ibid.

¹²³⁹ Quoted in Letter to Court, dated 21st February, 1756.



in the dastak for free trade to the Company which will have to be obtained from Hakim Beg and whether it could be ascertained that the present to be given for obtaining the dastak was not to be regarded as precedent." 123h Mr. Watts replied on 6th January, 1756, "stating the discussion he had concerning the alteration proposed by the latter in the dastak mentioned above, and intimating that the present given for obtaining it cannot become a precedent " but he noted at the same time that "little reliance can be placed on the assurances of Hakim Beg." 123i

We find that the Nawab took the following step for removing the complaints of the Company :- " Dustuck to all Rahdars, 123j Guzarbans, 123k Chowkeydars, izardars, 1232 etc., and to all the Golls, 128m Guzars, 128n within our districts as far as the pechowbrah (?) of Muxadavad (Murshidabad)

¹²³h Quoted in ibid.

¹²³⁴ Ibid.

¹²³j "A collector of tolls or transit duties."

^{1234 &}quot;An officer appointed to take tolls both on the high roads and at ferries."

^{1231 &}quot;A farmer of any item of public revenue, whether from land, customs, or any other sources; the renter of a village or estate at a stipulated rate."-Wilson's Glossary, p. 214.

¹²³m Gola-"A grain or salt store or market; a place where it is sold wholesale."-Ibid, p. 18.

¹²³n "A ferry station for boat, a place of transit or toll."—Ibid, p. 192.



extends, be it known that agreeable to the complaint made by the Gomasthas of the English Company the Nabob granted them a perwanuah for all the Ghats (ferries) in the Soubaship of Bengal that contrary to their ancient customs no new Imposition be laid on their Goods by the Rahadary's, etc. Because they have a Phirmaund from the King as also Senauds of former Subahs exempting them from such impositions. For this reason I wrote that my Pachowlerah (?) Ghat do not take more than what is now settled as particularized below; Take care they have no further cause of complaint, in this affair be punctual and observant :-

《江西》:"阿尔特的 《山西》:"见了这			Rs. A.		
Aurungabad	7 (1. 70129)	CONTRACTOR		4	0
Barrah Gurreah	•••			1	0
Godah Gurry				2	0
Jellengy				3	10
Butsallah		***		0	6
Sebarampore	***			2	0
Lullydangah				1	0
Buxypore		***		1	0
Ballu Bubrampore	***	-		0	8
Turmohaunny				2	0
Nazarpore (Nazirpur)				1	0
Custeah				0	8
Aukdunk	***		***	0	8"

We need not think that the Dutch were the only European rivals of the (i) Competition of English Company in the field of European and Asiatic traders. Bengal commerce till the middle



of the 18th century. But till then it had to reckon with the competition of the other European traders like the French, the Portuguese, the Prussians, and the Danes as well as of Asiatic traders like the Armenians, the Mughals, the Pathans, etc. These merchants sent their own gomastas to the aurungs, and the latter enhanced the prices of most of the sortments of cloths and other articles, which created troubles for the men of the English factories and hindered the collection of investments in various ways.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Letter to Court, 11th December, 1741, paras. 106 and 135; *ibid*, dated 3rd August. 1744, paras. 14, 15, 16; *ibid*, dated 20th August, 1751, para. 46. Consultations. 25th September, 1752; Letter to Court, 8th December, 1755, paras. 28 and 34.



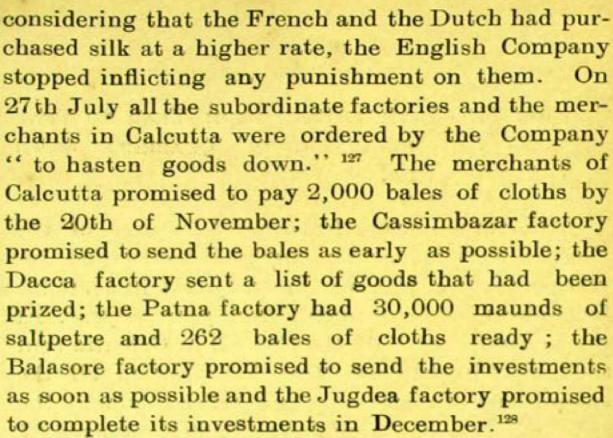
SECTION II.—INVESTMENTS FROM YEAR TO YEAR TILL THE BEGINNING OF QUARRELS WITH SIRAJUDDOWLA.

After thus noting the general features of the English East India Company's factories and investments, we proceed to study certain available facts about the investments from year to year. At the beginning of 1741 the Council in Calcutta sent the lists of investments for that year to all the subordinate factories, along with which the Cassimbazar factory received 67

chests of bullion, the Dacca factory 1,60,000 rupees, the Jugdea factory 60,000 Arcot rupees and the Balasore factory 24,000 Madras rupees. The Council also thought of taking security from the merchants, as had been suggested by the gentlemen of the Cassimbazar factory, and ordered that the merchants should be threatened against sending cloths of inferior quality. The merchants protested against this and eight of them combined together, for which the Company wanted to punish them. But after

¹²⁵ Letter to Court, 19th February, 1741, paras. 17 and 18.

¹²⁶ Ibid, dated 11th December, 1741, para. 86.



In 1742 the authorities in Calcutta sent as usual lists of investments to all the subordinate factories in the month of January, with money for the same purpose, Dacca receiving 1,60,000 rupees, Jugdea 24,000 rupees, Balasore 24,000 rupees. But in that year the Company's investment suffered greatly on account of the first Maratha invasion and currency troubles. In the next year also (1743) the Company suffered in the matter of collecting investments mainly owing to the

¹²⁷ Ibid, para. 120.

¹²⁸ Ibid, para. 121.

¹²⁹ Ibid, dated 15th February, 1742, paras. 13 and 15.

¹³⁰ Vide ante.



reappearance of the Marathas.131 "On the first Appearance of an accommodation '' between the Marathas and the Nawab, the Company "set about the investment but Excused the Merchants from any Penalty on Goods not to be had through troubles who represented cotton and provisions being Dear several articles must be advanced in price." 132 Thus the contract with the merchants was finished on 5th May at advanced prices for some sortments. 133 The Company contracted on a worse " Muster (sample) than old ones for Cossajura (Kasijora) Mulmuls 6,000 at Rupees 13-6-0 (each), 2,000 at 24, and 500 at 26-8-0, Doreas (Dure, chequered) Cossajura 2,500 at 21." 134 As bullion could not be sold at a proper rate, the Company was also obliged to borrow large sums of money for carrying on investments. 185

The Calcutta merchants being called for investments on the 2nd of April, 1744, 1744. complained of their last year's losses due to dearness of cotton and provisions. As that state of things continued even then, they "advanced the Prices very considerably but made Abatements and contracted 20th April-

Letter to Court, 13th August, 1743, paras. 8 131 and 9.

¹³² Ibid, para. 11.

¹³³ Ibid.

that distributed that the late deck 134 Ibid, para. 12.

¹³⁵ Ibid, para. 22.

Photaes (a king of piecegoods) so dear did not contract for them—Dadney was 70 per cent on which Penalty of 10 per cent on deficiencys occasioned by commotions." ¹⁸⁶ The Calcutta Council drew up the list of investments for the year 1745 on 4th March,

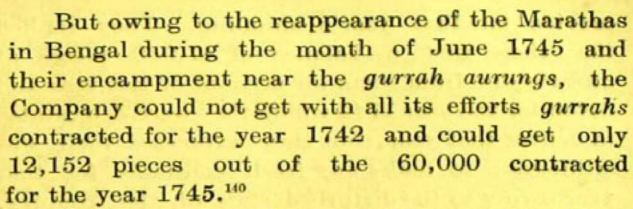
1745, but the merchants objected 1745. to being security for each other in three sets; on 18th March the Company 'agreed to their being security in six sets.' 137 On 12th March, the Company had informed the merchants that it expected large abatements on several species for which they had received advances last year as the price of cotton had greatly fallen and the French carried on little business. But the merchants alleged that they "were great sufferers by Malda Goods, Troubles and Extortions of Government ruined numbers of weavers, provisions excessive dear, so rather expected an advance." 138 Finding all arguments useless, the Company ordered on 28th March a list of such articles to be drawn out as the merchants could contract for at the 'A' and medium price, and agreed with them for 600,000 of gurrahs at 72 per cent. exclusive of what they brought in for balance on contract for the year 1742 139 at the price then current.

¹³⁶ Letter to Court, 3rd August, 1744, para. 8.

¹³⁷ Ibid, dated 11th August, 1745, para. 4.

¹³⁸ Ibid, para. 5.

¹³⁹ Ibid.



On 8th April, 1746, the merchants were ordered to attend the Council in Calcutta 1746. and were asked if they were ready to contract for as much as they thought they could procure. They were also informed that the Company expected lower prices than those of the last two years, as "the price of cotton was so much lowered and the French could not possibly provide any Goods." But they gave evasive answers, and told plainly on 15th April that "the times would not admit of any abatements and the circumstances of the country appearing to us much impoverished and not at all favourable for reducing the prices." The Council, therefore, ordered the list of such goods as the merchants could provide to be drawn out at the 'A' and medium prices of last year, and accordingly on 17th April such a list was laid before the Council with another of such goods as the merchants could not contract for. The Council then enquired of the merchants what quantity of gurrahs they could

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, dated 4th February, 1746, para. 18.

provide for that year's shipping. They replied that there was a balance of 47,940 pieces of gurrahs due from them on account of last year and 6,439 for the year 1742 which they were determined to deliver that year, but they expressed their unwillingness to make any fresh contracts for that year owing to the disturbed state of the country. After some arguments they were persuaded to contract for 25,000 pieces of 36 covids 141 and 5,000 pieces of 72 covids which were equal to 35,000 pieces of 36 covids at the same prices as in the last year, that is, Rs. 72 per corge (a mercantile term for a score) for 36 covid gurrahs. On 2nd May the merchants having agreed to provide the fine cossajura goods for ready money as they had done in the last year, the Council persuaded them with much difficulty "to make an abatement in the prices " 142 and also to make an additional contract for 150,0 0 pieces of gurrahs at the rate on which the other gurrahs had been contracted before. Thus the Company made a saving "in those fine goods of 12,025 rupees and procured an additional quantity of gurrahs." 143 The merchants could by

Name of a measure (resembling modern measurement by 'hāth') varying locally in value. According to Grose (1760) "the covid at Surat was 1 yard English, at Madras 1/2;" he says that "at Bengal it was the same as at Surat and Madras."—Hobson-Jobson, p. 207.

¹⁴² Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 6.

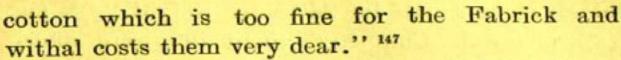


no means be engaged to undertake the contract for Balasore handkerchiefs of 17 yards and 14 nails. and they declared that they were "every year great losers by them but if procurable they will provide and bring them in." On 8th August, the Council in Calcutta considered the merchants' balances for the year 1745 and saw that "there was due to them exclusive of their Gurrah contracts Rs. 2,09,562-8-0 and on their contract for Gurrahs 1742 Rs. 16,149-12-9." When a reasonable explanation was demanded by the Company from the merchants for their keeping the money advanced for the purchase of gurrahs so long in their hands, they replied that the "troubles in the country prevented with their compliance with their contracts in that article as the Marattoes were chiefly in that part of the country where the Gurrahs are provided." 144 They also added that if the Company thought it proper they were ready to pay the penalty at the rate of 10 p.c. for their failure to supply gurrahs according to contracts and that they would be glad to be relieved from the promise they had made for supplying the gurrahs 'on the last year's contracts,' as it was very difficult "to provide gurrahs for want of workmen and the excessive dearness of cotton." 145 From various considerations, the Council agreed to

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, para. 9.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

" charge 5 p.c. on the Ballance of their (merchants') Gurrah contracts for the year 1745, in regard to the Ballance on gurrahs 1742 as they were contracted for at 51 rupees 8 annas per Corge and as the present year's contract was at 72 rupees per Corge." The Council considered it a sufficient punishment for the merchants and more for the interest of the Company to compel them to deliver in that year's balance at the price they had originally contracted for. therefore ordered that the "sum of 7,117-8-6 being 5 per cent. on Rupees 1,42,350-12-6 be charged on the several merchants Accounts and being deducted from the sum of Rupees 2,09,562-8 that they should have Interest allowed them on the remainder from the 30th April last." 146 But as the merchants proved too obstinate to pay the penalty of 5 p.c., the Council referred the matter to the Court of Directors. In that year's investment the 'soosies,' 'chucklaes,' and all silk goods were worse than usual which the merchants attributed to the extraordinary dearness of silk. Coarse cotton goods in general and particularly the 'gurrahs' were bad; the gurrahs were very thin because the "country cotton of which they should be made being destroyed and the weavers were obliged to work up thread made of Surat



On the 13th of March, 1747, the Calcutta list of investments was drawn up and laid before the Council and the merchants appeared there on 16th March. The Seths were informed that the Court of Directors had written favourably about them and they should "exert themselves to the utmost in providing goods for the ensuing seasons which would be most for their own interest, in order not only to retain but increase" good opinion of the Court of Directors.148 The merchants expressed their unwillingness to contract on the new plan ordered by the Court of Directors according to which dadni was to be advanced to the merchants as little as possible and goods were to be purchased at ready money.149

On the 18th of February, 1748, Omichand delivered to the Council in Calcutta ready-money goods of the value of four lacs of rupees, and applied for some money as he had a large quantity of goods ready for prizing. The Council, thereupon, ordered the Committee of Treasury "to deliver him ten chests of Bullion at Two hundred

¹⁴⁷ Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 88.

¹⁴⁸ Letter to Court, 10th January, 1748, para. 32.

¹⁴⁹ Vide ante.



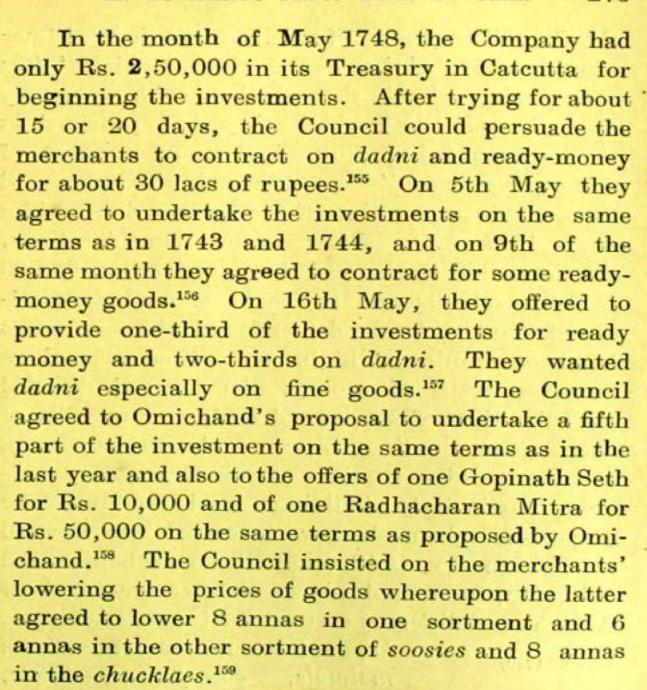
and one sicca rupees for 240 sicca weight." 150 On the next day the Company's merchants were offered bullion, in part payment of their due to them on their contracts for ready-money goods for the years 1745 and 1746, as Jagat Seth's house had refused to purchase it. The merchants expressed their willingness to accept to the amount of Rs. 2,12,451-14-0 in bullion whereupon the Council ordered the Committee of Treasury to deliver that amount to them at 201 sicca rupees for 240 sicca weight.151 The merchants brought to Calcutta two new sortments of cloths, viz., 45 pieces of Cossaes Boulea (i.e., produced at Rampur Boalia) of 20-1 yds. and 25 pieces of Cossaes Busna (i.e., produced at Bhusna in the Dacca District) of 40-2 covid, which were duly prized by the Council and sent to the Court of Directors for inspection. 152 the 7th of March, the merchants who had contracted last year on dadni applied for further 15 p.c. in bullion, which was granted to them by the Council on their promising not to sell it under the price given by Jagat Seth's house.153 On 4th April Omichand received 9 chests of bullion on account of ready-money goods delivered by him last year, and 5 chests of bullion were also delivered to other merchants for the year 1748.154

¹⁵⁰ Letter to Court, 24th February, 1748, para. 94.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, para. 100. 152 Ibid, para. 101.

¹⁵³ Letter to Court, 29th November, 1748, para. 29.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, para. 30.



On the arrival of 40 chests of treasure per 'Bombay Castle' the Company's merchants pressed

¹⁵⁵ Letter to Court, 26th July, 1748, para. 3.

¹⁵⁶ Letter to Court, 19th November, 1748, para. 31.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, para. 32.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, para. 34.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, para. 36.

the Council very much for advancing them 16 per cent. on their dadni contracts without which "they alleged they should be wholly unable to comply therewith, the cloth which they had provided at the Aurungs being stopped there on account of money they owe." 160 Omichand also requested the Council to pay him off the balance due to him since 1747 A.D. After various considerations, the Council at last agreed to advance Rs. 60,000 to the merchants and the same amount to Omichand also.161 As the demands of the settlement had been running so high, at a time when there was great want of money, the Council directed the subordinate factories not to draw any bills of exchange on the Company and also to be sparing as far as possible in their expenses in every respect, particularly buildings and repairs. The Export-Warehouse-keeper informed the Council on 5th January, 1749, that the merchants could bring in, over and above their contracts, about 170 bales of different sortments of goods such as,

hapas (cotton) cossaes, santipuri malmals, cossajura malmals, fine cossajura malmals, nila (blue) soosies and terrandams. Considering that the said cloths might be serviceable for the Company's tonnage, the Council agreed to accept these. 162 On 3rd

¹⁶⁰ Letter to Court, 22nd December, 1748, para. 7.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, para. 9.

¹⁶² Letter to Court, 27th January, 1749, para. 15.



March the Council took into consideration the disposal of the bullion and treasure then lying in the treasury and decided to pay 17 chests of bullion to Fatechand, 12 chests of rupees to the dadni merchants, 7 chests of bullion to those merchants who provided ready-money goods and six chests of bullion to Srikrishna and to reserve 5 chests of bullion for Cassimbazar, 5 chests for Dacca, and four chests of rupees for Jugdea. But Fatechand's gomasta refused to accept the bullion at previous rates and desired to have it by the weight of the sicca rupee. As this was the custom at Cassimbazar, the Council complied with his request. 168

On 18th March, 1751, the Council in Calcutta paid ten chests of bullion 1750 and 1751. and 20,000 Bombay rupees to Omichand on account of the ready-money goods supplied by him in 1750 A.D.164 When the merchants were asked by the Council about the terms on which they could contract for that year's investment, they replied that "they could not think of entering into the contracts until the accounts were adjusted." They repeated the same answer on 1st, 11th, 18th and 22nd pril and they remained obstinate till 27th May when the Council could prevail upon them with great difficulty to sign their accounts.166 But the Council

¹⁶³ Letter to Court, 10th August, 1749, para. 15.

¹⁶⁴ Letter to Court, 20th August, 1751, para. 42.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, para. 44. 166 Ibid.



resolved on 10th June "on no account to alter the old Musters to insist on their contracting for the Goods which they (the merchants) say they cannot provide as also for full quantity of Romalls (handkerchiefs) ordered on the same terms as last year" and to propose to them the lowering of prices on the following goods: -superfine Cossajura malmals of 40/2 to Rs. 27 per piece, fine Cossajura malmals of 40/2 to Rs. 22 per piece, dooreas Cossajura of 40/2 to Rs. 21-8 per piece, Santipur malmals of 40/2 to Rs. 17 per piece, Balasore malmals of 20/1 to Rs. 13 per piece, soosies of 50/118 to Rs. 11 per piece, Bustion cossaes of 40/2 to Rs. 19 per piece, Chaunpur Commercolly cossaes of 40/2 to Rs. 6-8 per piece.167 The merchants were also asked to contract for 4,000 pieces of gurrahs under a penalty of 15 per cent. on which the Council wanted to advance them 53 per cent. on the arrival of the Company's ships from home. 168 But they did not agree to those terms and on 17th June they expressed their unwillingness to contract on the old musters. However, the Council persuaded them with much difficulty to give up that point in consideration of which they wanted to have an advance price on the 'Addaties fine gold heads, Rs. 2 per piece, ordinary cārrādaries 12 annas per piece, ordinary chillaes 12 annas per piece, dooreas corricola of 40/2 Rs. 2 per piece, the same of



40/2 Rs. 2 per piece, Cogomaria cosseaes of 40/21 Re. 1-12 per piece, Santipur malmals of 40/2 Re. 1 per piece, Cossajura malmals of 40/2 Re. 1-12 per piece, fine Cossajura malmals of 40/3 Rs. 2-12 per piece. 169 They also informed the members of the Council that if they agreed to those terms, then they would lower the prices of superfine Santipur malmals and superfine Cossajura malmals by one rupee per piece less than what had been in last year's contract but that they "could not agree to any deduction from the other Goods as the French and Dutch by having made large contracts them have enhanced their prices." They further expressed their inability to provide the following goods though the Company advanced on the muster prices: handkerchiefs of $17\frac{1}{2}/\frac{7}{8}$ chequered middling of 40/2, Santipur malmals middling of 40/5, and also more than 4,000 pieces of gurrahs, as heavy downpour and high winds at the beginning of the year had almost destroyed the cotton crops and had raised the price of cotton. They also held that if the Council promised to pay them 50 per cent. on the

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, para. 46.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. It is proved by certain records in Correspondence du Conseil de Chandernagore avec divers, 2e partie that the French were still then trying various measures for collecting investments from interior parts of Bengal (compare Letter from Chandernagore Council to M. Albert, agent of the French Company at Jugdea, dated 21st September, 1750).



arrival of the Company's ships from home and 35 per cent. in October "then they would agree to pay the penalty on the Deficiency on the hundred but if the 35 per cent. was not paid them in October that then they would only agree to pay the penalty on the Deficiency on 85 p.c." ¹⁷¹

The Council took those facts into consideration on 24th June and agreed to make the following advances to the merchants: -addaties 8 annas, carradaries 3 annas, chillaes 3 annas, dooreas 8 annas, dooreas corricola (of 40/2) 8 annas, Santipur malmals 8 annas, Cossajura malmals 7 annas, Cossajura malmals (of 40/3) 15 annas, cossaes cogmaria 7 annas, chowtars 6 On 27th June, the merchants proposed annas. 172 to contract for "One third Ready money and Two thirds Dadney to be allowed Interest on the former from the 1st July and interest on the 50 per cent. Dadney to commence from the 15th June and on the remaining 35 per cent. from the 1st October " to which the members of the Council replied that if they could not advance the 35 per cent in October then they would give them (the merchants) notes at interest. But the merchants did not agree to "pay the Deficiency in the hundred" unless they received the 35 per cent. in ready money. 178 The members of the Council expressed that if the

¹⁷¹ Letter to Court, 20th August, 1751, para. 46.

¹⁷² Ibid, para. 47.

¹⁷³ Ibid, para. 49.



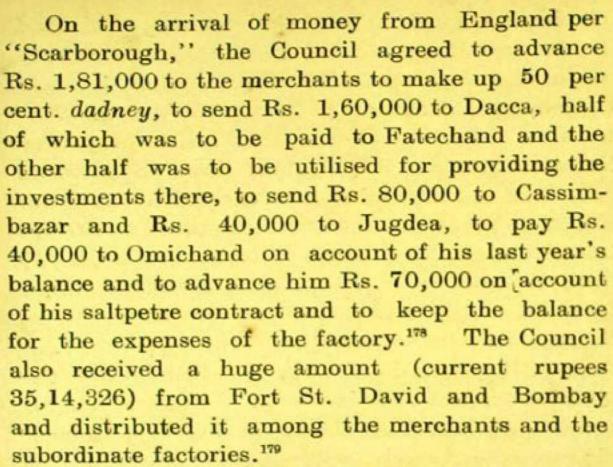
merchants gave them 40,000 pieces of gurrahs and the full quantity of soot romals (handkerchiefs made of cotton thread) ordered and at the same time reduced the prices of fine Cossajura malmals (of 40/2) from Rs. 23-8 to Rs. 22-8, of superfine Cossajura malmals (of 40/2) from Rs. 30 to Rs. 27-8, of Cossajura dooreas (of 40/2) from Rs. 22 to 21-8, of Santipur malmals (of $40/2\frac{1}{3}$) from Rs. 29 to 27-8, of Balasore malmals (of 20/1) from Rs. 14 to 13-8, of Cossajura Busna (of 40/2) from Rs. 28 to 19-4, then in case of their failure to pay them (the merchants) the 35 per cent. in October they would only take the penalty on the same terms as in the last year. 174 The merchants agreed to these, and on 15th July the Council directed the Warehouse-keeper to draw out the division of goods among the merchants and advanced them Rs. 17-3 per cent. on the contracts. 175 The merchants refused to contract for the Patna goods as they "were apprehensive if they should provide any that (the Nawab's) Durbar would demand the same charges as when' the Company's factory was there. 176 The Council again advanced Rs. 18-3 per cent. to the merchants on 22nd July.177

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, para. 5.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, para. 51.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, para. 52.



In the month of May 1753, the Council in Calcutta ordered the Committee of Treasury to pay Rs. 240 to Radhakrishna Mallik, Rs. 664-4 to Ajodhyaram Basak, Rs. 2,368 to Jagarmohan Basak on account of their last year's dadni contracts. After having examined the letters of the Court of Directors, for several years past, with a view to determine their definite orders about investments, the President, Export-Warehouse-keeper and the Sub-Export

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, para. 146.

¹⁷⁹ Letter to Court, 2nd January, 1752, paras. 33 and 34.

¹⁸⁰ Consultations, 17th May, 1753.



Warehouse-keeper made the following proposals before the Council either towards the end of May or beginning of June 1753 for carrying on investments in future :- "To contract on the old musters as usual, to receive no goods inferior to the musters of last year; to sort the goods in the same method as the last year; to advance but 30 p.c. Dadney; to have a due proportion of readymoney goods; the penalties to be charged on the deficiencies of their whole contracts and on different species of goods short delivered instead of lumping it as formerly; to have it in our (the Council's) option to refuse or take the goods tendered us (the Council) after the expiration of the time limited in the Teeps (thumb impressions) and to reduce the price of goods." 181 When the merchants were acquainted with these proposals, they answered that "they could not possibly accept of those terms without being ruined" and they refused to "undertake the investment at a less advance of Dadney than 85 p.c." The Council, therefore, thought it necessary to provide investments by a different method and accordingly ordered "that notice in the several languages be affixed at the Fort gates. That the Company's Musters will be exposed to view in the Cottah," 182

¹⁸¹ Consultations, 4th June, 1753.

¹⁸² Cottah or Kota—'A fort, a stronghold, the fortified residence of a Zamindar, the wall of a fort.—'' Wilson's Glossary, p. 295.



that any person who wanted to contract with the Company for any of the sortments should submit his proposals to the Export-Warehouse-keeper, who would lay these before the Council for final approval and acceptance. The merchants were then informed that they were no longer dadni merchants of the Company. 184

In order to procure with facility the sortments of cloths made in and about Calcutta, the Council empowered the Export-Warehouse-keeper on 3rd September, 1753 "to contract with substantial Delolls (dālāls) and Picars as much as they would undertake to provide." 185 The Council then summoned the merchants on 13th September for the balances that were due from them and decided that "those merchants who could not sign their accounts," as settled by it, before 5th November, "should have Peons put upon them and be compelled to sign' and that if any of them became then willing to open their bales stocked in the Company's godowns and to offer the cloths to the Company as ready-money goods, then it would accept these in part of their balances and would prize these by the last year's muster.186 In order to despatch that year's investments if possible by

¹⁸³ Consultations, 4th June, 1753.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Letter to Court, 4th January, 1754, para. 54.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, paras. 55 and 56.



the end of November the Council ordered the Export-Warehouse-keeper on 1st November to begin lading bales, but he could not do so owing to the belated arrival of goods from the aurungs.187 When the Company's gomastas went to the aurungs they experienced great difficulties in procuring cloths of similar quality as those musters which the Council had given them for their guidance, because the merchants of the Company had debased most of the fabrics.188 According to the order of the Council the gomastas had to reject large quantities of cloths, which were inferior to the musters. Advances were given to the weavers to enable them to produce such cloths as the Company's gomastas had been asked to procure but the cloths which the weavers brought in did not also come up to the standard of the model musters. By the end of 1753 A.D., the Council supplied the several aurungs with Rs. 8,98,135-11-9 and received back in goods from those places to the amount of Rs. 2,35,672-4-3; and goods of the value of Rs. 3,00,000 had been purchased and were ready in the aurungs. 189 The details about the investments during the years 1754 and 1755 have been already narrated in another connection. 190

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, para. 59.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, para, 53.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Vide ante.

CENTRAL LIBRAR

SECTION III.—HISTORY OF THE IMPORTANT FACTORIES.

About the beginning of the year 1741 the English factory at Cassimbazar Cassimbazar Factory. was directed by the Council in Calcutta to provide 93,300 pieces of gurrahs, "to be governed by price of cotton and goodness of Fabrick." 191 In that year the Council received "Musters of Raw silk from Cossimbazar six annas a seer dearer than last year," and so ordered that factory to send 75 bales of 'Guzzerat,' 225 'November bund '192 and 300 'Comercolly.' 193 On the 1st of April, 1741, Sir Francis Russel took charge of that factory from Mr. Richard Eyre. In the next year this factory and the gurrah aurungs near it were highly affected by the Maratha invasions. The walls of the factory at Cassimbazar were fortified by the erection of four good bastions and "indents for cannon and stores were

¹⁹¹ Letter to Court, 19th February, 1741, para. 17.

¹⁹² The term 'bund' meant season. There were three 'bunds' or seasons for spinning the cocoons. The November 'bund' commenced from 1st October to the end of February; the March 'bund' from 1st March to 30th June; the July 'bund' from 1st July to 30th September.

—Mursidabad District Gezetteer, p. 13.

¹⁹³ Ibid, dated 26th July, 1741, para. 2.



complied with as near as possible." ¹⁹⁴ The Cassimbazar factory could not "contract for any Gurrahs, cotton being so dear and Baly cotma the chief merchant being involved with the (Nawab's) Government." ¹⁹⁵ When on 19th December, the Cassimbazar factory settled accounts with the merchants for raw silk, a balance of Rs. 56,490-4-0 became due from them. The merchants desired that the "silk piecegoods might be taken as Dadney" (perhaps this meant that they were to be given money in advance for silk piecegoods). This was approved of, and the merchants promised to pay a penalty on the money received by them. ¹⁹⁶

On 23rd January, 1743, the Council in Calcutta received samples of raw silk from Cassimbazar (November Bund at 6 rupees 1 anna, Guzzerat at 6 rupees 10 annas and Comercolly 5 rupees). Finding that the samples were all of good quality, the Council ordered for 600 bales. On the 26th of February, Sir Francis Russel died of jaundice and dropsy, whereupon Mr. John Forster was appointed Chief of that factory and he set out for that place on 17th March. But on 19th November, the President of the Council in Calcutta declared

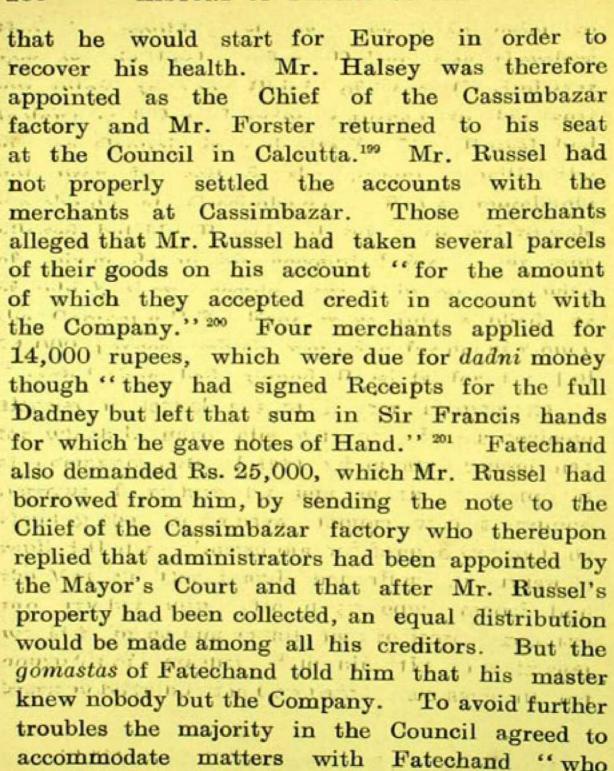
¹⁹⁴ Ibid, dated 8th January, 1742, paras. 131-32.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, dated 31st July, 1742, para. 6.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, dated 3rd February, 1743, para. 71.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 152.

¹⁹⁸ Letter to Court, 18th August 1743, para. 15.



¹⁹⁹ Letter to Court, 9th February, 1744, para. 119.

201 Ibid, para. 33a

²⁰⁰ Letter to Court, 13th August, 1743, para. 31.



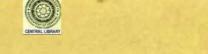
would take nothing less than the Principal, accordingly the Chief and Council (at Cassimbazar) gave a Note as interest for 25,000 rupees." 202 On the 2nd of July, the Cassimbazar factory agreed to supply "4,335 Tassaties (inferior sort of silk cloth) plain, 2,150 striped, 15,450 Bandannoes (bandana) at last years prices and 80 per cent. Advance." 203 The gantlemen at the Cassimbazar factory contracted for 1,240 maunds of 'November Bund' at Rs. 6-1-0 per seer, 340 maunds Guzzerat at Rs. 5-14 per seer, and three or four merchants stood in security for the dadni.201 Chief of that factory agreed to purchase silk piecegoods, viz., 9,525 pieces of taffaties at 8 rupees, red taffaties at Rs. 8-6-0, black taffaties at Rs. 8-2-0, 2,485 striped pieces at Rs. 8-4-0, 3,450 pieces of new 'romals' (handkerchiefs) at Rs. 7-3-0, 23,850 pieces of ordinary 'bandannoes' (bandana) 205 at Rs. 3-12-0, 3,600 pieces of fine 'bandannoes' at Rs. 4-4-0, 1,350 pieces of 'choppasarrys' (perhaps chapasaries, i.e., saries with figures printed on them), 600 pieces of new bandannoes,' 300 pieces of 'danadars.' Rupees

Letter to Court, 5th December, 1743, paras. 12-16.

²⁰³ Letter to Court, 13th August, 1743, para, 18.

²⁰⁴ Letter to Court, 3rd August, 1744, para. 8.

or red silk handkerchief, with diamond spots left white by pressure applied to prevent their receiving the dye."—Hobson-Jobson, p. 43.



4,000 were advanced to a merchant for procuring white silk on a commission of 2 as. per seer. The Cassimbazar factory also contracted for 39,000 pieces of 'Gurrahs' (Garha, coarse Indian cloth) of 39 covides at Rs. 70 and 8,000 pieces at Rs. 72.206 On the 20th of January, 1745, the Chief of that factory informed the authorities in Calcutta that he had "prevailed on Merchants to abate 3 annas seer and to agree for November Bund silk at Rs. 5-14, Guzzerat 6 rupes 7 annas, Comercolly 5 rupees 11 annas per seer the A Musters were good except Comercolly and on 29th added that the price could not be lowered without apparent Risque of spoiling the silk, but from the Dispute between the Nabob and Mustapha Cawn (Mustafa Khan, the leader of the Afghans) not prudent to make any absolute contract or advance Dadni." 207 He again wrote on 21st March, 1745, that he had "contracted for Raw silk November Bund 1,240 Maund, Guzzerat 340, Comercolly 1,170" and added on the 30th that he had "contracted for 58,795 silk piecegoods at last year's prices advancing Rupees 1-12-0 per piece on Lungee Romals." 208 He also informed on 26th April that he had "contracted for

²⁰⁶ Letter to Court, 3rd August, 1744, paras. 14, 15, 16.

²⁰⁷ Letter to Court, 9th February, 1745, para. 127.

²⁰⁸ Letter to Court, 11th August, 1745, para. 7.



HISTORY OF THE IMPORTANT FACTORIES 191

83,900 Gurrahs and 1,750 Doosooties at 70 Rupees a corge for Gurrahs, and (on) 30th May 40,000 more Gurrahs." ²⁰⁹ He further contracted for 1,750 pieces of flowered bandannoes.

On 15th March, 1746, Mr. Wadham Brooke proceeded to Cassimbazar as Chief of the factory there. According to the orders of the Council the men of that factory sent to Calcutta on 18th April a list of goods lying in their godowns, also the musters of raw silk, the price of 'A' November bund at 7 rupees per seer and of other sortments, and at the same time requested for a supply of money as they thought that they would not be able to borrow more than 1,50,000 rupees from Jagat Seth or other shroffs (bankers).211 The Council in Calcutta complained about the exorbitant prices demanded by the merchants, and considering that the price would exceed Rs. 5-12-0 per seer for the letter A, it ordered the Cassimbazar factory to provide not more than 600 bales, viz., November Bund 275 bales, Comercolly 250 bales and Guzzerat 75 bales, but directed it to procure as much white silk as possible because there was a great demand for it by the home authorities.2114 After

²⁰⁹ Ibid, para. 8.

²¹⁰ Letter to Court, 31st January, 1746, para. 18.

²¹¹ Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 13.

²¹¹a The French in Bengal also sent Cassimbazar silk to Surat and other places. Letter from Chandernagore

receiving five chests of bullion from Fort St. George the Council in Calcutta forwarded these on 28th April to Cassimbazar, 212 and also several lacs of rupees on 7th May. 213 On 19th May the Chief of that factory wrote to the Council that due to the troubles (e.g., the Maratha invasion) under which the merchants had to labour, they expressed their inability to pay the 10 per cent. penalty on the balance of silk and silk piecegoods, and that they had no prospect of borrowing more than 1 lac of rupees which with what they had with them would not be sufficient for advancing in full for raw silk "so that unless some expedient be found out for procuring further sums they shall be entirely at a stand in every other branch of their Investment and there was then about 20,000 pieces of Gurrahs brought in to be taken in part of the Ballances remaining on the last year's contract." In reply the Council asked the gentlemen there to accept the merchants' proposal, as qurrahs were indispensably necessary for the expected tonnage, and also to advance money for that year's silk as usual; it also noted that in case the merchants who were "indebted should not pay

Council to the Superior Council and Chief at Surat, dated 30th January, 1745, in Correspondence du Conseil de Chandernagore avec divers 2° partie, p. 319.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid, para. 14,



HISTORY OF THE IMPORTANT FACTORIES 193

they (the gentlemen of the Cassimbazar factory) must oblige their security to make good their debts but if they are convinced the times will not allow of their taking the penalty of 10 p.c. on their ballances for silk and silk piecegoods "they might excuse the merchants but they "must exert themselves in their endeavours to procure money there for the other branches of their Investment for money was so scarce" in Calcutta that the Council was not in a position to supply them sufficiently though "it desired to know what sum would answer their occasions."214 On 27th June the Calcutta Council received a letter from the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory to the effect that "they had contracted for Raw silk as follows, November Bund 1,164 mds., Guzzerat 302 mds., Comercolly 1,065 mds., and has also fixed a price on the silk piecegoods which they had not been able to reduce lower than 9 rupees 6 annas per piece for the plain 'Tassaties' and so in proportion for other sortments and that as soon as they can be supplied with sufficient money they should deliver out 'dadney' for the quantity ordered. That two of the merchants had agreed to provide about 30 maunds of the white Raw silk on condition of 2 Annas per seer commission on the Aurung price which is 7 rupees per seer the A and that they had accepted their offer, that they have not been



wanting in their best endeavours to procure money there for their Investment and they shall continue the like but have not a prospect of borrowing more than what they advised" the Council on the 19th of May; they also noted that unless they could be supplied with money "every other branch of the investment except the silk will be entirely at a stand but to complete their contracts for silk and silk piecegoods they shall want about three Lacks of Rupees more than what " the Council had already sent to them or what they would be able to borrow; they further remarked that as they were " uncertain what quantity of Doosutys and Gurrahs their merchants would undertake (to provide) they could not yet compute what sums would be necessary for those articles about which they will inform the Council as soon as they come to know of these." 215 In another letter, dated 16th July, they informed the Council "that they had so little success in procuring money that they had not yet given out the usual advance on Raw silk and must have delayed contracting for silk piecegoods" but for the strict orders of the Council. Upon the repeated complaints of the Cassimbazar factory for want of money, the Council in Calcutta permitted it to draw on the Council payable in Calcutta "any money that might be offered to them there." 216 Tt

²¹⁵ Ibid, para. 16. 216 Ibid.



accordingly drew on the account of the Council in Calcutta Rs. 69,554-12-9 and the Council also sent there the "gold mohurs which were imported from Fort St. George by the Phazel Salam." 217

Towards the end of March 1747, the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory received 30 chests of bullion from the Council in Calcutta and they replied on 6th April that they would send (in return) a lac of rupees as soon as they could get it from Jagat Seth's house and also an order for another half lac from one of his (Jagat Seth's) houses (probably in Calcutta); but they noted their apprehension that the "drawing of so much money from them (Seths) would hurt their credit." 218 On 18th April, the Council sent 20 other chests of bullion under the care of Ensign English with the hope of getting coins in return.219 Ensign English returned to Calcutta on 5th May with 1,00,000 new sicca coins and a bill on Jagat Seth's house there for 50,000 siccas more. 220

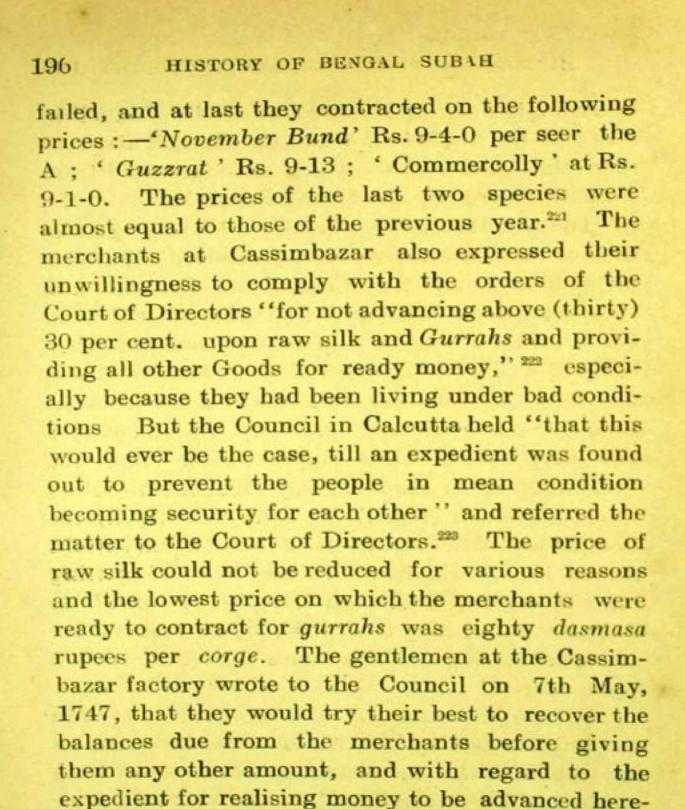
All the attempts of the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory in 1747 to settle the price of raw silk with the merchants and to contract for a muster of 'November Bund' on the last year's price

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Letter to Court, 10th January, 1748, para. 43.

²¹⁹ Ibid, para. 176.

²²⁰ Ibid, para. 180.

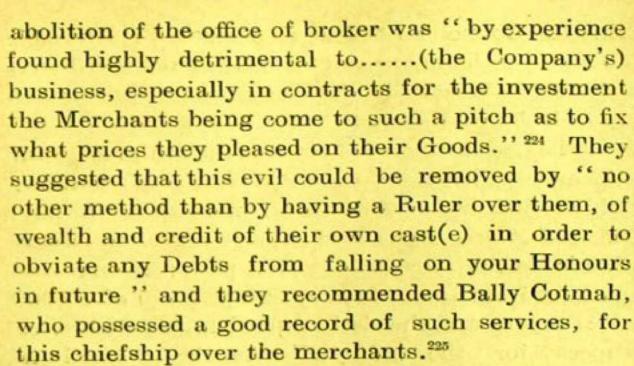


after to the merchants they remarked that the

²²¹ Ibid, para. 177.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.



The Council considered this representation of the Cassimbazar Factory on 22nd May; the majority were of opinion that no broker should be appointed at Cassimbazar, and that in view of the high prices of raw silk only one-third of the former orders should be contracted for. On the same day the Council communicated its resolutions to the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory, who replied on 1st July that they had contracted with their merchants for 10 annas per seer less than what had been fixed to the musters sent there. By the month of August they succeeded in bringing down the price by four annas more and they thought it difficult to bring it further down. At

²²⁴ Ibid, para. 181.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid, para. 182.



this the Council in Calcutta considered it advisable to increase the quantity of goods ordered and directed the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory to provide 400 bales in all.

The Cassimbazar factory was then in great want of money because the 20 chests of bullion, which had been sent there, were spent in paying off the interest of their notes to Jagat Seth's house for two years past; it received nothing from Dacca factory except a bill of 25,000 sicca rupees and the Seths agreed to pay 203 sicca rupees for the bullion.227 As the Council in Calcutta had ordered the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory to increase the quantity of raw silk, they prayed for further supply of money for providing that as well as other parts of the investment.228 The Council replied on 28th August that they were wholly unable to send them any supply before the arrival of the ships from home and ordered them to "use their Endeavours to furnish themselves from Juggut Seat's house." 229

On 29th September, the Council sent to the gentlemen at Cassimbazar a new list of investments for that year and informed them that ships were being prepared for sending them 20 chests of bullion for exchange at the house of Jagat Seth, to

²²⁷ Ibid, para. 191.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.



whom the President had sent a letter requesting him to "order Ten chests thereby to be paid by this House in Calcutta" for the currency of the Company's business there and to pay for the other ten chests to their factory at Cassimbazar. The Council further informed the gentlemen at the said factory that they had "certain advice of a large supply of Bullion being on the way and it shall be duly sent to be disposed off to them and if that they could get a further supply from Dacca it would be an acceptable piece of service." The Seths agreed to pay not more than Rs. 201 for the bullion in the manner desired by the Council, and the Cassimbazar factory could make no satisfactory progress in the matter of procuring investments for want of money. It contracted for 58,000 pieces of gurrahs at Rs. 75 per corge, which even it did not hope to get if there was no timely supply of money or if the Marathas appeared again.231 It sent 32 bales of gurrahs to Calcutta out of the Company's contract on 30th September and on 16th October sent to the Council a Bill of Exchange on Jagat Seth's house in Calcutta for 77,000 new sicca rupees.232 But the Calcutta Council being much in debt for their current expenses and also being

²³⁰ Ibid, para. 193.

²³¹ Ibid, para. 194.

²³² Ibid, paras. 196 and 197.



pressed for money by the gentlemen at Fort St. David directed the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory that they should procure another bill for 50,000 sicca rupees, and that if they had already received the sum for the ten chests of bullion for their own factory then they would send that sum by boats as soon as possible.²³⁸

The gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory were already in want of money, and so they wrote to the Council on 24th October by protesting against the "drawing so much money out of their hands at a time when they were about delivering out to their Merchants to enable them to perform their contracts for Raw silk as it was certain that many of them had strained their credit so much in purchasing the Putney 234 as to be unable to carry on the expense of winding it off without some assistance which would be then quite (out) of their power to give them....." 285 They had been able to procure only 36,000 sicca rupees for 10 chests of bullion from the Seths, which they sent to Calcutta and the Seths promised to pay the remainder in three or four days. They also informed the Council that agreeably to the former orders of the Company they did not pay dadni to

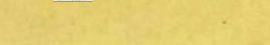
²³³ Ibid, para. 198.

^{234 &#}x27;Act of ordering goods from a manufactuer.'
—Wilson's Glossary, etc., p. 410.

²³⁵ Letter to Court, 10th January, 1748, para. 199.



those merchants who had not cleared off their balances, but that there was one among them named Mohan Biswas, who was indebted to the Company for Rs. 4,055-9-6 pies but was himself a considerable creditor of Sir Francis Russel for which he threatened to renew his complaints before the Nawab's darbar, where (as the Company's vakils apprehended) he might gain his point. They therefore suggested the payment of dadni to him for preventing the Company's "affairs from being embroiled" as he had promised to clear half of his debt in that year and the remainder in the next.236 There were also other merchants indebted to the Company whom they thought of paying in this method and solicited the opinion and orders of the Council in that matter. They sent four chests of silver to Calcutta on the same day (24th October). Taking into consideration their financial difficulties, the Council permitted them to keep for themselves the remainder of what they were to receive from Jagat Seth's house on account of bullion. But it peremptorily ordered them "not to advance money to Mohun Biswass and others indebted on their old contracts unless undoubted security be given for money to be advanced on fresh contracts as also for the payment of the old Ballances at the time they stipulated." 237 On 28th November they



informed the Council that they would act exactly according to its orders.

The invasions of the Marathas put the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory at a great disadvantage and they wrote to the Council on 14th January, 1748, that "their merchants would fall very short in their contracts for Gurrahs and Raw silk." 258 On 9th February, Srikrishna and Anandiram, two bankers of Calcutta, informed the Council through their own gomastas that "they had received intelligence from Suratt (Surat) that Two Bills of Exchange for Fifty thousand rupees 50,000 each were drawn on them (by Mr. Wake, President of the Bombay Council) in favour of the Calcutta Council and that they had the money with them which they were ready to pay into their factory at Cassimbazar." 239 In view of the financial difficulties of the Company, the Council ordered the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory to receive the amount and to send down to Calcutta 50,000 sicca rupees out of it. 240 They were also directed on 2nd May to begin collecting investments on the arrival of Mr. Brooke. But the latter, after his arrival there, wrote to the Council on 24th May "that it was impracticable to make any (investments) their merchants alledging want of money

²³⁸ Letter to Court, 24th February, 1748, para. 95.

²³⁹ Ibid, para. 135.

²⁴⁰ Ibid, para. 151,



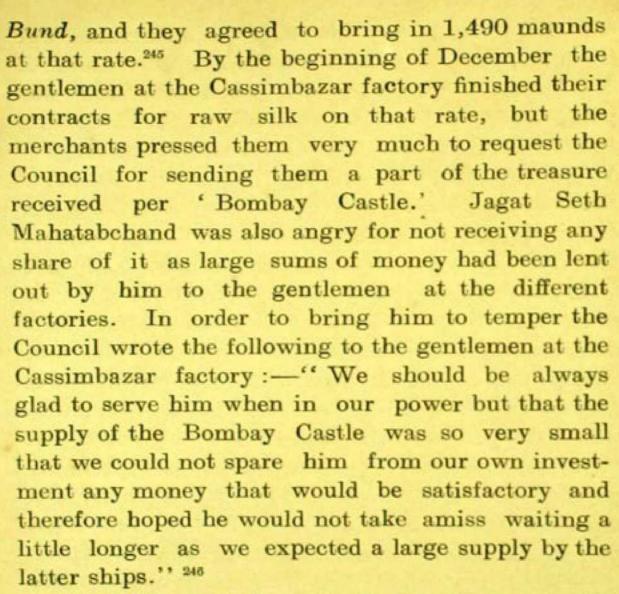
and credit, and very pressing for Ballances due them last year for Goods delivered to the amount of 3 Laacks of Rupees. That when this sum was paid, they would contract for silk at the following Rates being as low as they could reduce them: November Bund Rs. 7-8-0 per seer, Guzzerat Rs. 8-1-0 per seer, and Comercolly Rs. 7-5-0 per seer." 241 By the month of July the merchants at Cassimbazar began to clamour for ready money due from the Company and they were made easy for some time by the Council's assurance that their demands would be supplied with 'out of the first money that come to hand.' 242 In the month of August the bales sent from Cassimbazar to Calcutta were stopped by the chowkey (toll-house) at Saydabad and these could be obtained after the payment of 2,580 rupees. 243 By September the merchants at Cassimbazar wanted "to know what part of the money would be sent them, with which if satisfied they might then promise a considerable Investment in Raw silk and silk piece-goods but few or no Gurrahs, the season for providing them being almost over." 244 By the month of October, the merchants could be persuaded to bring down the price of raw silk to Rs. 6-12-0 for November

²⁴¹ Letter to Court, 19th November, 1748, para. 46,

²⁴² Ibid, paras. 47 and 49.

²⁴³ Ibid, para. 50.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, para. 52.



In the following year the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory wrote pressingly for money, especially for the five chests of bullion which had been reserved for them. But considering that the "charges would run very high in sending a large Party of Guards with so small a sum of treasure," the Council changed its decision and

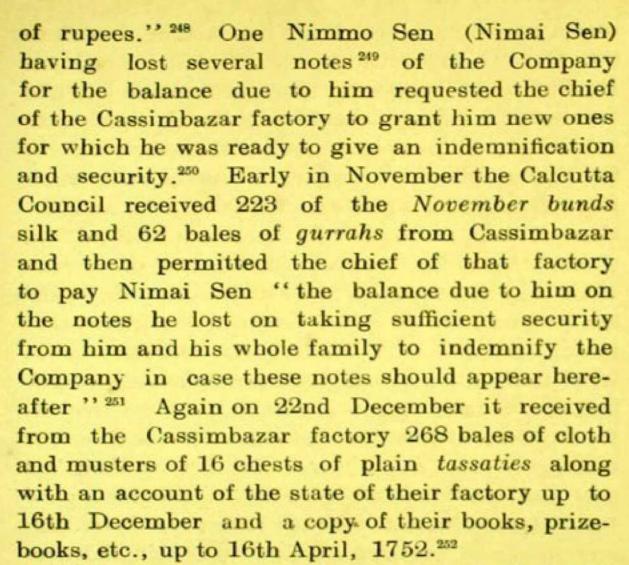
²⁴⁵ Ibid, para. 54.

²⁴⁶ Letter to Court, 22nd December, 1748, para. 11.



sent a bill of exchange from one Ramkrishna Seth for Rs. 23,400 on 6th April.247 Mr. Wadham Brooke was dismissed from the chiefship of the Cassimbazar factory and Mr. Edward Eyles was appointed in his place. In the next year the Council sent some money to the Cassimbazar factory, and the gentlemen there informed the Council on 10th October, 1752, of the safe "arrival of the treasure sent them under the care of Ensign Muir, of a deficiency of two Madras rupees in the treasure sent up with Mr. Watts," and noted that they hoped to send to Calcutta 30 bales of silk, 20 chattaks of silk piecegoods and upwards of 100 bales of qurrahs in the beginning of November. In the same month the merchants at Cassimbazar made very pressing demands for having their last year's balances paid off in order to provide a good investment for the coming year; the Seths also were equally pressing for getting their balances cleared at Cassimbazar and Dacca and they promised to lend thereafter to the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory whatever they might require in future. Mr. Watts, who had then succeeded Mr. Eyles as chief of the Cassimbazar factory, therefore, wrote to the Council in Calcutta on 22nd October for "a large supply of money to comply with those demands, having likewise several notes to pay amounting to near a lack

²⁴⁷ Letter to Court, 10th August, 1749, para. 23.



The gentlemen at Cassimbazar received 12 chests of Arcot rupees from the Calcutta Council

248 C	onsultations,	27th (October,	1752.
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Dasmasa Rs. A. P. 249 One dated 23rd March, 1752, for 11,750 8 0 One dated 27th March, 1752, for 8,179 3 3 One dated 9th April, 1752, for 9,215 8 0 One dated 1st May, 1752, for 7,721 1 9

- 250 Consultations, 27th October, 1752.
- 251 Consultations, 9th November, 1752.
- 952 Consultations, 28th December, 1752.

in the middle of March 1753, and they informed the Council in their letter of 12th March that Raghunath Biswas and Narayan Biswas "had represented to them in case they should be able to get credit to pay some small part of their debt to the Company and would give an undoubted security to pay an annual sum till their debt was discharged." 258 The Council permitted them to "take those two persons into their Dadney provided they kept an undoubted security in their hands that they do not become further indebted " to the Company.254 With great difficulty they were able to prevail on the merchants to contract for silk upon the same terms as in last year, that is, for 1,000 maunds of the November bund silk at the rate of Rs. 7-12 per seer and 800 maunds of Guzzerat bund at the rate of Rs. 8-5 per seer.255 They also contracted for silk piecegoods on the same terms as in last year and could not reduce the prices of either raw silk or silk piecegoods, inspite of the repeated orders of the Council to that effect, because the price of patni (goods commissioned or manufactured to order) was 6 to 8 annas per seer dearer than it had been for the last several years. They could not wait further as the Gujrat merchants had been also trying to buy the

²⁵³ Letter to Court, 4th January, 1754, para. 60.

²⁵⁴ Ibid, para. 62.

²⁵⁵ Ibid, para. 64.

November bund silks.256 They also persuaded the merchants "to agree for the 36 covid 257 gurrahs at one Rupee per Corge less than last year and the other sortments in proportion." 258 The Council in Calcutta sent to them on 30th July several chests of Madras rupees and ten chests of bullion for getting these coined into siccas for the Company's use in Calcutta; and also sent ten chests of Arcot rupees and ten chest of Madras rupees on 30th August.259 On inspecting the goods received that year from Cassimbazar the members of the Council in Calcutta saw that the 'Guzzerat silks' were of a very bad quality. They, therefore, "took out of several bales a small quantity of each letter and sent it up to the gentlemen there (Cassimbazar) that they might compare them with the musters they contracted on" and might then send these to Calcutta for the approbation of the Council. They also demanded "sufficient reasons for so great a difference in the quality of the silk" 260 to which the gentlemen at Cassimbazar replied that "this was due to the rise of the prices of Putney from 1 Rupee to 11 per seer which makes a difference of more than 50,000 Rupees to the merchants." 261

²⁵⁶ Ibid, para. 61. 257 Vide ante.

²⁵⁸ Letter to Court, 4th January 1754, para. 64.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, para. 68.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, para. 71.

²⁶¹ Ibid.



The Cassimbazar factors informed the Council in Calcutta on 22nd April, 1754, that "they had at last prevailed with some of their merchants to make proposals of contract for Raw Silk but that they insisted on 8 Rupees per seer for the November bund and 8-9 per seer for the Guzzerat which prices (though very extravagant) they had no hopes of reducing as their Merchants seemed rather to decline than engage in that Article even at that exorbitant Rate," 202 and they sent those musters of silk for which the merchants had agreed to contract. After inspecting the musters the Council informed Mr. Watts, chief of the Cassimbazar factory, that these were inferior to the musters which they had previously contracted on and the price demanded for November bund silk was also "too extravagant to be complied with" and directed him and his Council to " go on providing the other sortments of silk in the same manner unless they could bring their Merchants to better terms " 208 and to try for better cloths to avoid "debasing by degrees the quality of their silk investments." When the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory informed the merchants about those orders of the Council in Calcutta, they replied that they had agreed to provide silk for that year only "in order to obtain the continuance

²⁶² Letter to Court, 7th December, 1754, para. 70.

²⁶³ Ibid, para. 71.



of the Favour and protection of the Factory without any prospect of advantage and were very glad to be excused from engaging in that branch of business." 261 At last the gentlemen at the factory were able to persuade the merchants by the end of May to contract for 1,000 maunds of November bund silk.265 The merchants at Cassimbazar did not contract for Guzzerat silk, and so the Council in Calcutta directed the factors there to send money to the aurungs early in the season for procuring certain quantity of it and sent them Rs. 766,680-0-0 for their contracts.266 As we have already noted, in that year the Cassimbazar factory were permitted by the Council to establish four new aurungs at Elambazar, Nannur, Murtali and Kagram, which were, however, withdrawn next year.

It is well known that with the outbreak of quarrels of the English with Nawab Sirajuddowla, the Cassimbazar factory was stormed, its chief Mr. Watts had to suffer much and the factory was reduced to a pitiable condition during the years 1756-57.267 Its fortune, however, took a better turn after English victory at Plassey. In the year 1758 the members of that factory informed the Council in Calcutta that "upon examining the accounts of Kussenundah, the Company's

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, para. 72.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, paras. 81 and 82.

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid, para. 77.

²⁶⁷ Vide ante.

DATEAL LIDPARY

HISTORY OF THE IMPORTANT FACTORIES 211

Gomastah, they had found great reason to suspect him guilty of several frauds in the management of the investments." ²⁶⁸ In their letters to the Council, dated 8th and 13th December, 1759, they wrote for a supply of at least two lacs of rupees for purchasing only 'November Bund' raw silk. In 1763 that factory asked for 9 lacs of rupees as advance for the purchase of silk.

Patna was at that time a "place of a very considerable trade." 269 Its importance was greatly due to the local manufacture of saltpetre. The records of the period show how the European factories at that place procured saltpetre, which was one of the most important articles of the Company's investments. This brought the English into occasional conflicts with the Dutch, the French and also with the native merchants. 270

The advance of Safdar Jang, the Subahdar of Oudh, towards Patna during the third week of December 1742 created troubles for the Patna factory in the following manner:—
"The Chief and Council obliged to furnish boats for Transporting his Forces cross (across)

²⁶⁸ Letter to Court, 31st December, 1758, para. 53.

²⁶⁹ Rennel, Memoir of the Map of Indostan, p. 62.

²⁷⁰ Details have been given in my paper on Saltpetre Trade of the Company' published in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1930 (Patna Session).



Toneah (?) river, his people commit outrages, all intercourse with Bengal. They are in a manner confined to the Factory at Patna, could not send goods away...... "271 Investments from Patna fell short on account of these troubles and also due to disputes with the Dutch. No chintz (printed or spotted cotton cloth) or Laccowries were available except only two chinted handkerchiefs.272 Three mud bastions and a trench were erected at that time to the east and south of the Patna factory.278 On account of Mr. Cole's maladministration of the Patna factory,274 the authorities in Calcutta ordered him to come down to Calcutta with Mr. Evre after handing over the charge of that factory to Mr. Pattle. Mr. Cole had not settled his accounts with Omichand and other merchants but had put all of them under confinement on their raising clamours for it; and they were

²⁷¹ Letter to Court, 8th January, 1742, paras. 93 and 94.

²⁷² Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, paras. 57 and 58.

²⁷³ Ibid, para. 103.

Mr. Barker to the chiefship of the Patna factory in 1732. Consultations, Fort William, 20th July, 1732, contained in "Bengal letters from the Coast and Bay, 1731-38."

afterwards released by orders of the Nawab's Government. These happened in the month of December 1742, and since then up to the 1st of January, 1743, the accounts were adjusted by arbitration and otherwise.275 On 19th September Mr. Barwell was appointed Chief of the Patna factory with Messrs. Brown and Amyatt as assistants.

In the year 1744 the Patna factory "promised to procure saltpetre and piecegoods on cheapest and securest terms." 276 But the troubles originating from the complaints of Deepchand 277a and other assamies 277 against the conduct of Mr. Cole continued. The Company appointed supervisors to enquire into the matter, and the Court of Directors ordered that the gentlemen who were at Patna in Mr. Cole's time should accompany the supervisors there in order to "give them their best assistance and informations in the enquiry they were to make." 278 The Council in Calcutta, therefore, decided to send Mr. Eyre

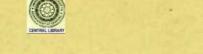
²⁷⁵ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, para. 151.

²⁷⁶ Letter to Court, 3rd August, 1744, para. 20.

^{277 &}quot;A cultivator, a tenant, a renter, a non-proprietary cultivator; also a dependent; also a debtor, a culprit, a criminal, a defendant in a suit."-Wilson's Glossary, p. 35.

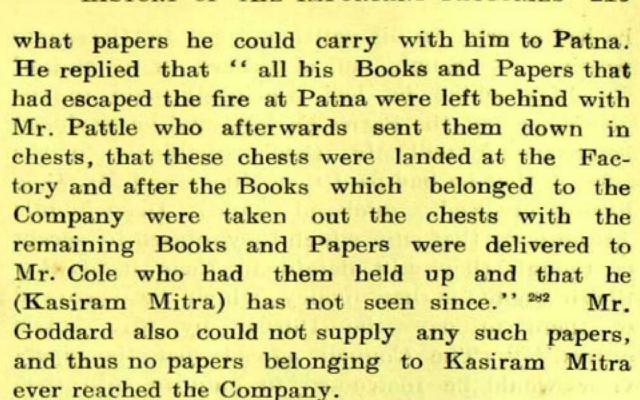
²⁷⁷a A letter from Chandernagore to Mr. Huyghens, President of the Dutch Council at Hugli, dated 30th October, 1746, refers to Deepchand as faujdar of Chuprah.

²⁷⁸ Letter to Court, 80th November, 1746, para. 69.



to Patna and Mr. Pattle was asked to remain there till the arrival of the supervisors; Messrs. Richard Becher and William Baillie were also ordered to set out with the supervisors. When the time for the supervisors' proceeding to Patna drew near the Council in Calcutta asked Kasiram Mitra, Mr. Cole's banian, on 21st July, 1746, "to go with them and assist in clearing up the Merchants and Assamies accounts there." 279 He replied that he was Mr. Cole's servant and could not go there without his orders. But as the Court of Directors had sent strict orders for sending him to Patna along with the supervisors. the Council decided to confine him in the factory in Calcutta till they set out, and at the same time ordered its Secretary to write to Mr. Goddard, Mr. Cole's attorney, to attend the Council next day for handing over all papers and vouchers relating to the accounts of the Patna assamies and merchants.280 Next day Mr. Goddard appeared before the Calcutta Council and, on being asked for the papers, he replied that ' he would consider of it and give his answer in writing.' So the Council received a letter from Mr. Goddard, dated 23rd July-a letter which was very long and was "in no wise answering the purpose." 281 On 25th July, the Council made an enquiry from Kasiram Mitra as to

²⁷⁹ Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 73. 280 Ibid. 281 Ibid, para. 74.



On 11th August, 1746, Ray Singh, the late vakil of the Company at Patna, sent a petition, written in Persian language, to the President of the Council in Calcutta charging Mr. Barwell, chief of the Patna factory, and also Mir Assul, the then vakil of the Company at Patna. with 'malpractices,' and, on appearing before the Council, he swore to the truth of his statement. 283 The Council considered that it would be necessary to give some encouragement to Ray Singh "to assist the Supervisors in settling the disputed accounts with Omichand, Deepchand, and Assamies" and, therefore, "sent for him and assured him that he should have his post of Vacqueel (Vakil) again in case he proved what

282 Ibid.

283 Ibid, para. 77.



he had asserted in his petition." 284 In the same petition Ray Singh had also asked for the sum of Rs. 4,000 which he had previously paid to the gentlemen at the Patna Factory, and he produced before the Council Mr. Cole's certificate to the effect "that he had paid that Money and Mr. Cole having credited Omichand (and) Deepchund's Accounts by that sum which they refused to accept of though they still detain in their hands Ray Singh's note for that money which he borrowed of them to pay the Durbar by Mr. Cole's orders." 285 The Council agreed that the supervisors would be instructed to enquire into that affair and that "if they found it reasonable to credit Omichand (and) Deepchund's Accounts with that sum, they are to endeavour to get Ray Singh's Note out of their hands and deliver it to him or otherwise to do him justice in this point." 286 1st September, 1746, the instructions, orders and papers for the supervisors proceeding to Patna were read and signed by the Council and they were ordered to proceed thither taking Kasiram Mitra with them. They had to start so late (2nd September) owing to scarcity of boats and dandis (boatmen) which could be procured with great difficulty.287

²⁸⁴ Ibid, para. 81.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, para. 84.



The Supervisors arrived at Patna on 21st October; Mr. Barwell made over charge of that factory to Mr. Jackson; Messrs. Baillie and Gordon took their seats at the Patna Board and one Narsing, who had been formerly the Company's under-vakil, was appointed "to transact the (Company's) business at the (Nawab's) Durbar." 288 After examining the charges against Mr. Barwell, article by article, the Council in Calcutta found "nothing criminal proved" against him and reappointed him in the month of December to the chiefship of the Patna factory asking him also to join with the supervisors in enquiring into the affairs concerning Mr. Cole's administration.289 order to enable the supervisors to live in a respectable manner, the Council decided to pay them three months' expenses at five hundred and eighty-five rupees eight annas per month.290

Before the supervisors examined Mr. Cole's affairs, the latter had gone away to Fort St. George "in an ungentle and underhand manner inspite of the President's strong remonstrances," which meant that "he was guilty and wanted to evade coming to a fair Adjustment." He returned to Calcutta on 8th October, 1746, and was asked by the Council to proceed to Patna for helping the

WHILE WAS

³⁸⁸ Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 155.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, paras. 159 and 162.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, para. 182.

²⁹¹ Ibid, para. 174.



supervisors. He gave his answer in writing on 12th October; we do not know definitely what it was.

In their letter of 9th November, 1746, the supervisors at Patna informed the Council in Calcutta that though for preventing quarrels with the Nawab's government it might then appear necessary to postpone the examination of Deepchand's accounts till the saltpetre fleet was despatched, yet it would not be possible to make delay for a long period, because Deepchand had already applied to Haji Ahmad who had sent frequent messages and orders to the supervisors for settling Deepchand's accounts immediately, failing which he threatened "to use them very ill." 292 This gave the supervisors "but an indifferent prospect." They solicited the instructions of the Council in Calcutta as to how they should act if Omichand and Deepchand did not settle their accounts "in a fair Mercantile way or make demands on them no ways relating" to the Company which, as the supervisors noted, they had already begun to do by "applying to them about the Deposite made by them and their private concerns with Mr. Cole." 293 The President and the members of the Council replied on 20th November that they agreed to the proposal of the

²⁹² Ibid, para. 188. 293 Ibid.



supervisors that it would be better to defer entering into Deepchand's accounts till the saltpetre was dispatched. They also informed the supervisors that if the government of Haji Ahmad intervened and wanted them to act in a manner that was not 'fair and mercantile' they must not comply with that, and that if they suffered any violence on that account, then the Company would apply to the Nawab of Murshidabad for redress. It was noted that if the Nawab of Murshidabad also joined in the violence then the Company would resist him and stand on its defence, which they had been authorised to do by the Court of Directors. The supervisors were also authorised, in case of necessity, to acquaint Haji Ahmad's darbar that the Company was "ordered to make Reprisals in case any injustice be done to them," 294 because the Council believed that such "Information would be sufficient to prevent violence being offered as it has been customary at these Durbars to allow Merchants to settle their accounts in a fair manner whenever it has been required by either party." 295 The supervisors experienced great difficulties in settling the accounts. They saw that the accounts delivered by the merchants and the assamies to the former supervisors had never been adjusted and did not agree with the Company's accounts for the last ten

²⁹⁴ Ibid, para. 189. 295 Ibid.



or twelve years. They could not find any old servant to help them in the matter, and on searching for books and papers belonging to the Patna factory, Chuprah and Singhia, they were informed by Messrs. Pattle and Eyre that all the papers relating thereto belonging to Kasiram Mitra or Shyam Mitra had been sent down from that place and that they knew of no other books except translations of a few lying in the hands of Gokul Basak at Singhia which could not be of much help in settling the accounts. Kasiram Mitra also told them plainly that he had no papers or accounts and that he could afford no other help than what he could say from memory. The merchants and the assamies who stood heavily indebted to the Company had in general turned bankrupts, and so, even if the supervisors could prove their indebtedness, very little could be recovered and that probably not without approaching the Nawab's government which meant "further loss and expense." 296 their letter of 16th November, the supervisors informed the Council in Calcutta of their difficulties in settling the accounts of the merchants and the assamies for the last twelve years and solicited definite orders as to how they should proceed.297 While considering this letter, the Council summoned Mr. Cole and asked him if he had any books or papers of Kasiram Mitra relating to the Company's

²⁹⁶ Ibid, para. 190.297 Ibid.



affairs at Patna. Mr. Cole replied that he had nothing in his possession and that all such books and papers, except those which belonged to himself and his private affairs, had been taken out of the chests. But the Council informed the supervisors that they should settle the merchants' and the assamies' accounts in the best manner possible although little could be expected, because it thought that "to prevent any after claims and demands on.....(the Company) it was highly necessary these Accounts should be adjusted and Acknowledgements taken for their balances." 298 supervisors again informed the Council on 19th December that the "task of adjusting the Merchants Accounts appears to them altogether impracticable." 299 About the same time Mr. Jackson informed the Council through his letter, dated 26th December, that as soon as the saltpetre boats had left Punerak, Omichand was asked to come and settle his accounts; he at first deferred it till the arrival of his gomasta from Chuprah but came afterwards to the English factory on 25th December for settling his accounts though his gomasta had not then arrived. Mr. Jackson was himself ready to act jointly with Mr. Barwell in settling the accounts but the latter did not like to interfere in the matter.300

298 Ibid, para. 191.

299 Ibid, para. 192.

300 Ibid, para. 194.

The affairs of the Patna factory engaged the serious attention of the Council in the same month. The supervisors repeated their opinion that it was absolutely impossible to settle the merchants' and the assamies' accounts there, and that receipts could not be procured from them without spending money at the Nawab's darbar, and that little or nothing could be recovered from the debtors. So the Council decided that "should the (Nawab's) Government interfere in settling those Accompts (accounts) or should Omichand, Deepchand make any application to the Durbar or fly off from a fair and Mercantile adjustment it would be then time enough to desist from any further procedure," and informed the supervisors to that effect. 301

Early in 1747 Mr. Barwell was removed from the chiefship of the Patna factory and Mr. Jackson was appointed in his place. The Patna factory was mainly concerned with the saltpetre business and also with adjusting the accounts of Omichand, Deepchand and other merchants. Omichand desisted from settling his accounts and proposed to refer these to the arbitration of the merchants and shroffs there. When the supervisors referred the matter to the members of the Council in Calcutta through their letter of 7th February, 1747, the latter regarded it as a "wholly unprecedented"

³⁰¹ Ibid, para. 195.

³⁰² Letter to Court, 10th January, 1748.



method. They argued that the Company could by no means submit its affairs to be "arbitrated by the subjects of this country," 303 as, in their opinion, according to the Firman (of 1716-17), all merchants dealing with the Company were required to settle their accounts in the Company's factory and the government of the country was thereby "ordered to compell the merchants to do so." 804 The Council ordered the supervisors through their letter to them, dated 3rd March, 1747, to "endevour to bring Omichand Deepchand to comply therewith, which should they refuse, they must apply to the Government to oblige them thereto," and also sent two letters from the President of the Council, one to Nawab Allahvardi and the other to Haji Ahmad which they were asked to deliver if they could expect any benefit from that. Immediately after the receipt of this letter, Omichand was called before the supervisors on 14th March but they could not prevail upon him to settle his accounts. About applying to the Nawab's government, as suggested by the Council, the supervisors dreaded many ill consequences from that step. They apprehended that "it would first be a means of Omichand's gaining his Point by an order from the Government for on application formerly made to them about some other merchants, accounts, the Nabob immediately ordered



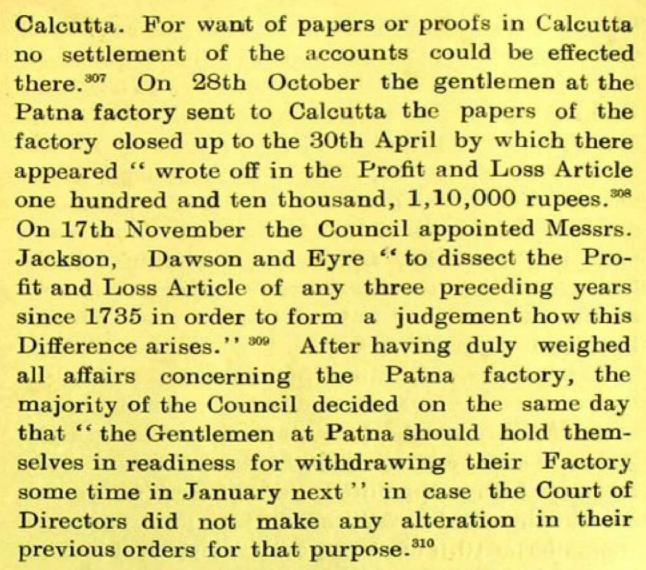
arbitrators to decide them which is the usual step in the present case For daily experience shows that no good Issue can be expected unless attended with proper presents which is always the first Introduction and which they imagined from what they had observed there will not be spared by their antagonists. That we (they) well knew what slight obedience the Nabobs pay to the present (imperial) Government and therefore it might be presumed little benefit would accrue from their mentioning King Furruckseer's Phirmaund." 805 Notwithstanding these reasons, the Council in Calcutta again wrote to the supervisors at Patna on 24th April to approach the Nawab's government unless they were well assured by their personal knowledge on the spot that it would be of great disadvantage to the Company's affairs. 806

Omichand and Deepchand proposed to send down their gomasta Makum Singh to Calcutta for settling the accounts. Makum Singh proceeded up to Hugli from which place he sent a letter to the President of the Council in Calcutta desiring to know from him if he could come to Calcutta with safety. The President, with the opinion of the majority in the Council, replied to him enquiring about the object of his visit to

³⁰⁵ Ibid, para. 251.

³⁰⁶ Ibid, para. 252.





The Patna factory remained in a distressed condition throughout the year 1748 owing to the ravages committed by the rebellious Afghan generals of the Nawab.³¹¹ The English withdrew their

³⁰⁷ Ibid, paras. 252 and 253.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, para. 259.

³⁰⁹ Ibid, para. 250.

³¹⁰ Ibid, para. 255.

³¹¹ Letter to Court, 19th November, 1748, para. 56; Consultations, June 1748.

Mr. Holwell put a motion in the Council in Calcutta in the month of February, 1753 and for reconsidering the establishment of the Patna factory and the Court of Directors wrote to the Council in their letter, dated 31st January, 1755, to take this matter into consideration. About the middle of the year 1757, Mr. Watts procured a parwanah from the Nawab for re-establishing the factory at Patna without any additional payment to his officers and Mr. Pearkes was accordingly sent there. 314

Dacca factory was permitted by the Council in Calcutta to build godowns at a cost of 8,000 rupees. Mr. John Gumley being appointed Chief of that factory on the death of Mr. William Bucknall, proceeded there on the 10th of August. Various kinds of cloths were sent by the Company to the Dacca factory for flowering these on, and women were employed for such work. When in the year 1741 the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Dacca factory to get the flowered and stitched cloths finished, 1517

³¹² Grose's Voyage, etc., Vol. II, pp. 639-42.

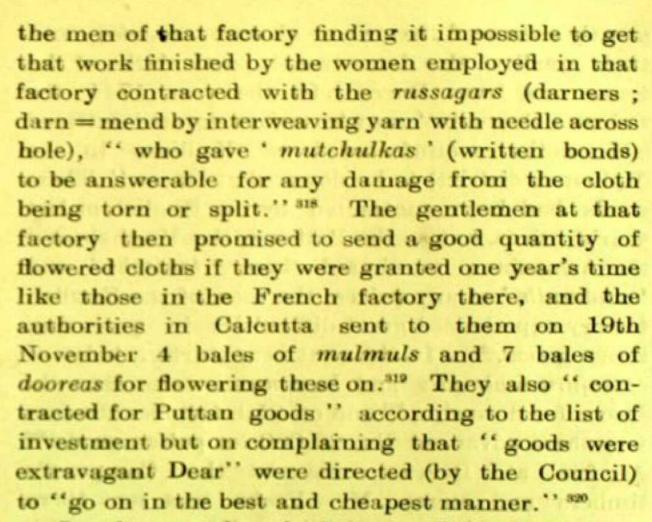
³¹³ Consultations, 22nd February, 1753.

³¹⁴ Letter to Court, 20th August, 1757.

³¹⁵ Letter to Court, 19th Feb., 1741, para. 22.

³¹⁶ Letter to Court, 26th July, 1741, para. 6.

³¹⁷ Letter to Court, 11th December, 1741, para. 114.



In the month of August 1742, the Dacca factory agreed to send 300 pieces of nainsooks and 200 seerhandconnaes but noted that jamdanies were not available there. The authorities in Calcutta sent to Dacca on 4th October hummums (hamams) for flowering these on. High price of cotton and dearness of provisions 528

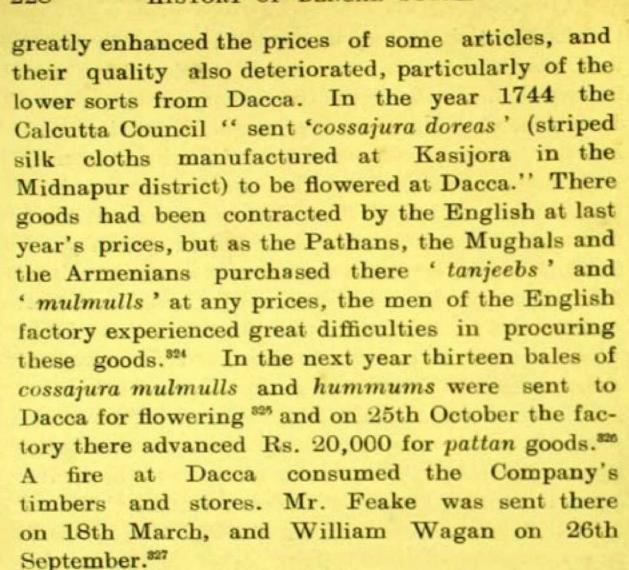
³¹⁸ Ibid, para. 105. 319 Ibid, para. 116.

³²⁰ Letter to Court, 8th January, 1742.

³²¹ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, para. 61.

³²² Ibid, para. 62.

³²³ Cotton was being sold at 33 rupees per maund and rice of the most inferior quality at 30 seers per rupee.



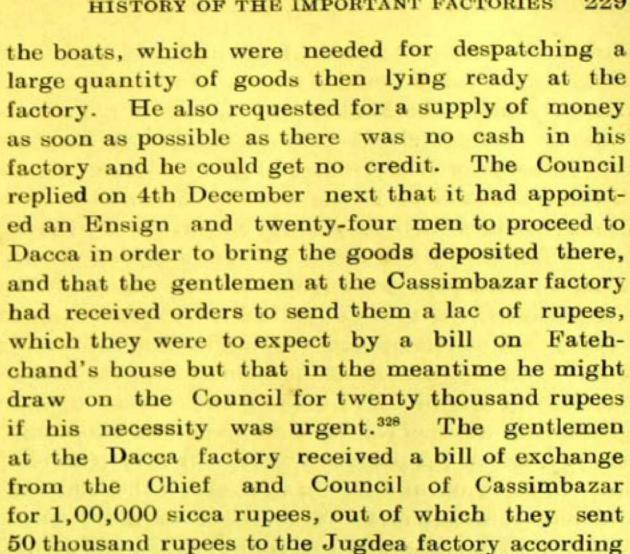
The Chief of the Dacca factory informed the Council in Calcutta on 21st November, 1746, about the "Mugs being very troublesome between that place and Bakergunge and that they had plundered some Boats belonging to the English," and prayed for additional military help to be sent with

³²⁴ Letter to Court, 3rd August, 1744, para. 19.

³²⁵ Letter to Court, 31st January, 1746, para. 39.

³²⁶ Ibid, para. 49.

³²⁷ Ibid, paras. 88-89.



They sent to the Council in Calcutta towards the beginning of 1747 forty-three bales (of cloth) and a bundle of musters. The time when Mahatabchand and other shroffs (bankers) were to demand the interest due on the money borrowed from them was drawing near; but the Dacca factory had no money to clear off the same, and so they solicited the directions of the Council through their letter of 4th March as to how they should act when the

to the orders of the Council.829

³²⁸ Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 72.

³²⁹ Ibid, para. 76.

shroffs would put forth their demands.330 On 16th March, the Council sent to them 7 chests of treasure, and 15 bales of 'dooreas' and 3 bales of 'humums' (thick cloths used as wrappers in the cold season) for flowering, and at the same time directed them that if the shroffs demanded the interest money then they must endeavour to renew the handnotes till they could be supplied from Calcutta with money sufficient to pay them off. 381 On 11th April the Council sent to the Dacca factory six chests of treasure and a bundle of velvets.382 in the meanwhile the gomastas of the Seths exerted great pressure for money and so the gentlemen at the Dacca factory deferred sending Rs. 40,000 to the Jugdea factory till they received the Council's opinion. On 25th April the Council ordered them to pay off the Seths with the money which they had already received and to supply the Jugdea factory with the promised sum as soon as they received Rs. 60,000 which had been despatched to them from Calcutta on 11th April. *23 Again on 16th and 25th July they wrote to the Council " complaining that if money be not soon sent them, they should be able to make but a small investment and have no 'Puttun Goods' and that they could take no money there or at least under

³³⁰ Letter to Court, 10th January, 1748, para. 64.

³³¹ Ibid, para. 65.

³³² Ibid, para. 67.

³³³ Ibid, para. 68.



12 per cent. which if we (the Council) approved of giving they would try what sums could be The Council wrote to the gentlemen at had.'' 884 the Cassimbazar factory to help the gentlemen at the Dacca factory with money from Jagat Seth's house and by about the 3rd week of August the former received from the Cassimbazar factory a note on Jagat Seth's house for 25,000 sicca rupees which also, as they complained in their letter to the Council of 23rd August, was to be of little use for providing their investments. 336 On 15th November they represented to the Council their inability "to proceed in their investment, not having where-withal to defray their monthly expenses, no one being willing to lend them one Rupee as the Company's ships were not arrived with treasure." 337

On 16th March, 1748, they acknowledged the receipt of Rs. 50,000 from the Cassimbazar factory and informed the Council that they had drawn the following bills on the Company in favour of Neamat Uttuk for Rs. 1,500, in favour of Kishan Chand Datta Rs. 1,750, in favour of Lakshmi-Kanta Datta Rs. 750, in favour of Ramprasad Ghose Rs. 500.888 On 16th April the Council in

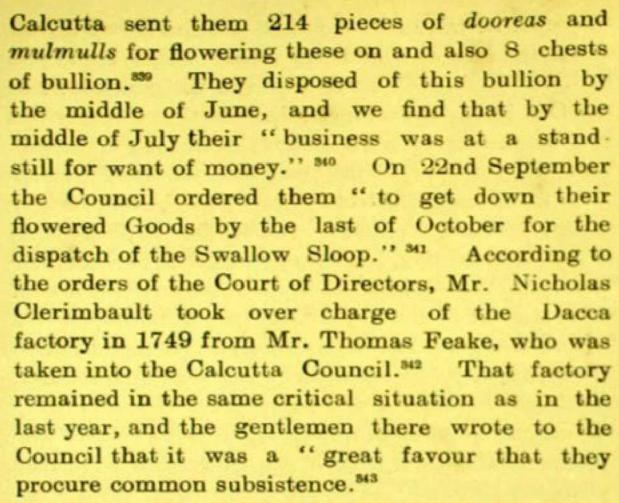
³³⁴ Ibid, para. 71.

³³⁵ Ibid, para. 72.

³³⁶ Ibid, para. 73.

³³⁷ Ibid, para. 76.

³³⁸ Consultations, March 1748.



The articles supplied by the Dacca Factory in the year 1751 proved to be of bad quality. On 14th September, 1752, Mr. Nicholas Clerimbault wrote a letter to the Council in Calcutta containing his answers to the several remarks on their investments of 1751. He pointed out therein that on account of the "emulation of the French lately

³³⁹ Letter to Court 19th November, 1748, paras. 69 and 70.

³⁴⁰ Ibid, paras. 72 and 78.

³⁴¹ Ibid, para. 74.

³⁴² Letter to Court, 10th August, 1749, para. 24.

³⁴³ Leter to Court, 11th February, 1749.



settled (there), 345a and that the country cotton has continued at an extravagant high price for near three years past, they have been obliged to be less severe in prizing the fine cloth of all sorts and have been necessitated to take more the lower letters of the fine cloth than they should have done to prevent the Company being disappointed in quantity ordered." He further promised to transmit to Calcutta his "reasons either for sending but a part of several articles entirely or sending more of other than are ordered, and in relation to the Alliballies, the deficiency of the fine and overflow of super-fine was occasioned by the Dellolls and Picars being deficient in the former, and in lieu bringing in an overflow of the latter, which had they not accepted of must have left them considerably more indebted to the Company that they thought prudent." 344 Towards the end of October, the Council in Calcutta thought of sending 50 chests of Arcot rupees to the gentlemen at the Dacca factory to enable them not only to discharge the Company's debts to the Seths but also to complete their investments for that and the following season.845 About the month of October,

French also were very active in collecting investments in those parts. Vide letters from the Chandernagore Council to M. Albert, Commissioner of the French Company at Jugdea, during 1750 and 1751 A.D., published in Correspondence Chandernagore, etc., pp. 399-422.

³⁴⁴ Consultations, 25th September, 1752.

³⁴⁵ Consultations, 30th October, 1752.



the Dacca dalals secured a parawanah from the Nawab for having the "cloth business of Jugdea and all the Dacca Aurungs in their own hands." he The Dacca factory sent to Calcutta 112 bundles of cloth and 1 bundle of musters under the care of Sergeant Damy Davy 347 on 26th October, 76 bales and a bundle of muster on 11th-December. 348

They sent a parcel of cloths to Calcutta on 25th February, 1753. But the members of the Council in Calcutta, who had already informed them that they would despatch the 'Oxford' by the end of February, were highly enraged for the delay in sending the goods and also because the cloths had not been properly dressed. They, therefore, sent these back to Dacca after a few days and also sent there 20 chests of treasure for providing investments.349 The principal dalals and pykers of the Company at Dacca refused to contract for the Chandpur cloths (which the Court of Directors wanted in large quantity) on the musters sent by the Council in Calcutta to the gentlemen at the Dacca factory, but they agreed to bring cloths on different musters from Chandpur. The musters for the latter kind of cloths with fixed

³⁴⁶ Consultations, 23rd October, 1752.

³⁴⁷ Consultations, 16th November, 1752.

³⁴⁸ Consultations, 27th December, 1752.

³⁴⁹ Letter to Court, 4th January, 1754, para. 77.



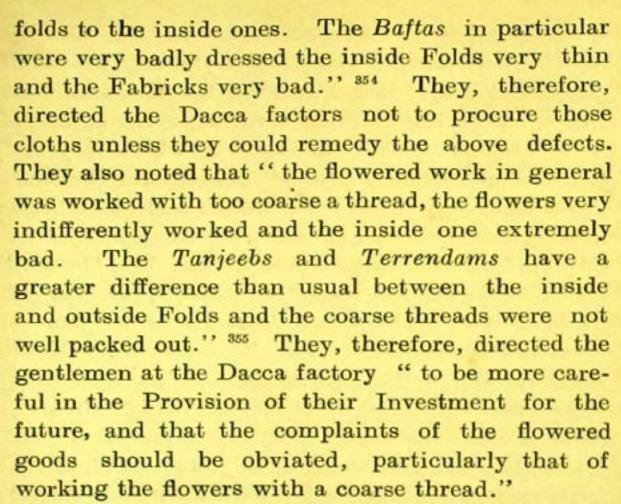
prices marked on them were sent to the Council by the gentlemen at the Dacca factory on 10th June. 850 They also informed the Council that they were trying to bring down the price of cloths purchased for ready money "in which they met with some success, but by that means the cloth came in exceeding slow the Dellols and the Picars having taken back great quantities on account of the low prices at which they had rated." 851 On 23rd June the Council in Calcutta inspected the musters of Chandpur cloths sent to Calcutta by the gentlemen at Dacca and informed the latter that these were inferior to the musters which they had sent to Dacca, and that "cloth might be cheaper bought, and the quality better preserved if one of their Council were sent to Chandpur to purchase it on the spot besides the advantage it would receive by being washed and dressed at the Aurung itself." 852 The Dacca factors sent to Calcutta 87 bales of cloth on 6th September 558 and 49 bales of cloth on 10th October. The latter were inspected on 12th November by the members of the Council in Calcutta, who found that these "were very ill-sorted (and that there was) too great a difference from outside

³⁵⁰ Ibid, para. 84.

³⁵¹ Ibid, para. 86,

³⁵² Ibid, para. 87.

³⁵³ Ibid, para. 90a



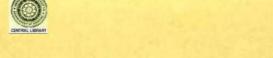
In the next year seventeen chests of Arcot rupees and 10 chests of bullion were sent to Dacca for investments. As the goods from the Dacca factory for the last two or three years had been very bad, so the Council in Calcutta sent to the gentlemen there on 25th April some musters for comparing these with their own goods in order to be careful for the future.⁸⁵⁶

We have already noted the distressed condition of the Dacca factory during the Company's

³⁵⁴ Ibid, para. 93.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Letter to Court, 9th September, 1754, para. 83.



quarrels with Nawab Sirajuddowla. In the year 1762, that factory anticipated some troubles, as we find in the following:-" The various rumours that prevail in the country and the general insolence of the natives with the interruption put upon trade in general giving us reason to suspect that we shall be engaged in troubles when the season shall permit of carrying on operation in the field, it has been agreed to put the Dacca factory in a state of defence and get sepoys from Chittagong." These troubles actually came in 1763 when that factory was attacked by a body of sepoys and Mr. Leycester, chief of the factory, left it.857 The conduct of Mr. Leycester was severely stigmatised by the authorities in Calcutta and Clive noted on 29th January, 1766:- "Mr. Leycester's behaviour at Dacca when he abandoned the Factory which commanded a very considerable proportion of the Company's treasure and merchandise would in all probability have lost him the service, if General Carnac had not prevailed upon Mr. Vansittart to let him soften the paragraph written upon the subject in the General letter." 358 During the year 1764 Dacca was subjected to the ravages of the dacoits (robbers) and the properties of Mr. Ross were also

³⁵⁷ Consultations, 16th February, 1764.

³⁵⁸ Consultations, 29th January, 1766.

plundered. But the Nawab of Bengal "ordered Mr. Reza Khan to recover his losses and directed him to call upon the assistance of the Dacca Factory for some sepoys to go in armed boats and endeavour to discover and root out the dacoits." In the year 1761, Mr. Verelst, chief of the Chittagong factory, had applied to the chief of the Dacca factory for ammunition. 359 The gentlemen at the Dacca factory informed the Council in Calcutta on 9th February, 1764, that "they had despatched Captain Grant to Islamabad with 4 companies of sepoys, Two guns, and an Howitzer giving him directions at the same time to co-operate with the Nabob's troops in reducing the Bambapore Zaminder. That Mr. Cartier had been advised by Mr. Grant that the Zaminder had abandoned the Kella on his bringing his Troops before it which it did not lay in his power to prevent not having a sufficient number of Men to invest the place and that he was then employed in seeing the works levelled. That they have now left at the Factory Lieut. Dow, one sergeant, and three companies of sepoys and that their military stores of every kind being much reduced by the quantities returned to Islamabad with Captain Grant." 860 The cloth factory at Santipur had also Santipur Factory. some troubles in the year 1764,

as is clear from the letter, dated 6th November,

³⁵⁹ Chittagong District Records, Vol. I, p. 8.

³⁶⁰ Bengal Secret Consultations, 18th February, 1764.



1764, sent from the gentlemen there to the Council in Calcutta:—"Ramchandra Shah, the son of Krishnachandra Shah, arrived in the Aurung with two or three hundred horsemen, sepoys and Peons; about 50 persons entered our factory, and insisted on our going with them to Ramchandra Shah; and finding that we refused to go, they forcibly took away Manohar Bhattacharyya, our Gomastha, who provides cotton yarn for the Company, whereby the Company's business is stopped; therefore, as we cannot perceive their design in the present disorder, we despatch Haidiram Mukherji and Gopal Bhattacharyya to inform you of the particulars, and hope you will take notice of the same." ⁸⁶¹

At the beginning of the year 1741 the Jugdea factory received 60,000 Arcot rupees from the Council in Calcutta along with a list of investments to be collected there. But the high price of cotton and dearness of provisions affected that factory; it was not able to send to Calcutta in 1742 white Bully Baftas (a kind of silk cloth) at all and could send only 3,810 pieces of brown 'baftas' of which 240 pieces were returned as being too thin. On 30th September, 1742, ten Europeans were sent from Calcutta to Jugdea, as the

³⁶¹ Calcutta Review, 1872, pp. 110-11.

³⁶² Letter to Court, 19th February, 1761, para. 18.



factory there had been attacked by the Mugs. 863 the year 1744 the gentlemen at the factory promised to procure piece-goods on cheap and secure terms but the dalals there "could not undertake to provide a full quantity of "Bully Baftas" as first crop of cotton (was) almost spoiled by Hail." 364 In the next year that factory was directed by the Council in Calcutta to advance only small sums at a time to the dalals and to send peons to the aurungs to prevent the misuse of the sums. On 10th May, the chief of the said factory informed the Calcutta Council that the dalals had brought in goods of the value of Rs. 7,006-12-6 on account of their balances, which reduced their balances to Rs. 68,846-11-3 and that they offered to enter into an obligation to pay Rs. 10,000 every year. The Calcutta Council approved of this. 865 Mr. Charles Hampton went there on 8th April. 366

On 22nd February, 1745, the Council in Calcutta sent to the Jugdea Factory 50000 Arcot rupees for beginning their investments. On the 5th of April the chief of the Jugdea factory wrote to the Council asking for another supply of Rs. 50,000 which was forwarded to him on 1st May next since when the Council received from

³⁶³ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, para. 85. The French at Jugdea also apprehended similar incursions of the Mugs during the years 1750 and 1751, Correspondence Chandernagore, etc., pp. 397-99 and 410-11.

³⁶⁴ Letter to Court, 3rd August, 1744, para. 21.

³⁶⁵ Letter to Court, 11th August, 1745, para. 13.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, paras. 88-89.



HISTORY OF THE IMPORTANT FACTORIES 241

there 652 bundles of cloth amounting to Rs. 54,968-4-0. On 15th May, the Council received a letter from Mr. Humphry Bellamy, Chief at Jugdea, dated 28th April, along with a copy of the accounts of that factory up to 31st March. It was noted in the accounts that out of the old balance of dasmasa rupees (fifty-nine thousand six hundred and eighty and six pice) due from the dalals, they had paid dasmasa rupees nine thousand one hundred and sixty-six ten annas and nine pice. goods of the value of which was forwarded to Calcutta, and that they had promised to pay eight hundred and thirty-three rupees five annas three pice by the end of April, which was to " make up the ten thousand rupees agreeable to their con-In their letter, dated 9th October, tract." 867 1746, the gentlemen there desired "a further supply of 60,000 Rupees to be sent them " as the dalals had promised to deliver up to that amount for that year's shipping.368 On 29th October the Council replied to them that according to their desire it had ordered the gentlemen at the Dacca factory "to supply them with 50,000 rupees as soon as it comes to their hands from Cassimbazar and directed them to keep strictly (the) orders of the home in not advancing money for Goods but to pay for them as they were brought into the

³⁶⁷ Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 67.

³⁶⁸ Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 20,

House." 360 In the month of December, the Council received from the Jugdea factory 3,099 pieces of Chandpur baftas, which being duly packed was sent to England. 370

At the beginning of the year 1747 the gentlemen at the Jugdea factory wrote to the Council in Calcutta for money in order to carry on their investments. The articles sent from the Jugdea factory could be purchased at a much higher price in Calcutta; so the Council agreed on 3rd March to send 60,000 sicca rupees to the gentlemen at the Dacca factory in response to their separate request, "with orders to send Current Rupees 40,000 to Jugdea if to be had otherwise such Rupees to that amount as were most proper and keep the remainder for their own occasions." 371 At the same time the Council sent the list of investments to the gentlemen at the Jugdea factory and "ordered them to begin and provide goods for ready money, expressly forbidding them the advancing any on Dadney." On 23rd March the Council acknowledged the receipt of a letter and of 175 bales of baftas (a kind of mixed silk and cotton cloth) from Jugdea and sent there a new list of investments. 878 Mr. Thomas Bellamy was appointed

³⁶⁹ Ibid. para. 21.

³⁷⁰ Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 73.

³⁷¹ Letter to Court, 10th February, 1748, para. 55.

³⁷² Ibida

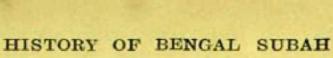
³⁷³ Ibid, para. 56.



a member of the Jugdea factory in place of Mr. Paul Richards Pearkes who had been transferred to Dacca because of the death of Mr. John Smith, a member in that factory. By the end of May the gentlemen at the Jugdea factory were able to realise Rs. 10,000 of the old debts from the merchants. But the dalals there expressed their inability to transact business "in any other Method than has been practised two years before, which has been by advancing money in small sums and they humbly petition this method may be continued otherwise they should be compelled to seek some other protection." The Council had at last to submit to this but it directed the gentlemen at the Jugdea factory through their letter, dated 10th June, "to beware to have the goods for the money they advanced, All or near all in before they advanced any fresh sums." 875 The gentlemen at the Jugdea factory sent to Calcutta 116 bundles of cloth on 30th April and 53 bundles on 18th June, and in their letter to the Council, dated 4th July, they acknowledged the receipt of 4,000 Arcot rupees from Dacca. In another letter, dated 7th July, they noted that they had advanced Rs. 2,000 for gurrahs to be made of coarser and rounder thread and that they would be able to provide 25,000 pieces of that sortment, to make an increase in the quantity of baftas and to

³⁷⁴ Ibid

³⁷⁵ Ibid, para. 58.



make an investment to the amount of Rs. 5,00,000 if they were supplied with 1 lac or $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees when the Company's ship would arrive. 376 They also informed that they would "pay strict obedience to the directions and orders" contained in the Council's letter of 10th June. Six chests of bullion were sent by the Council in Calcutta to the gentlemen at the Jugdea factory on 14th April, 1748, and on 14th August they were directed to send down all the brown cloth they had made ready for chinting.377 Both the Dacca and the Jugdea factories were at that time exposed to the depredations of the Mugs from Arracan and Chittagong. 878

In the next year the gentlemen at the Jugdea factory sent 133 bundles of brown cloth and 3 tucktaes (taktis) of white cloth which reached Calcutta on 12th July. 379 On the retirement of Mr. James Blackford and Mr. Thomas Bellamy, Mr. William Baillie was appointed as the chief and Mr. Charles Stafford Playdell his second in that factory. 880 By the year 1751 the gentlemen at that factory were able to encourage the weavers to establish a new aurung "by which

³⁷⁶ Ibid, para. 60.

³⁷⁷ Letter to Court, 19th November, 1748, paras. 75 and 76.

³⁷⁸ Letter to Court, 27th January, 1749, para. 10.

³⁷⁹ Letter to Court, 10th August, 1749, para. 24.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.



means their business was a good deal expedited and they had increased the Investment 30,000 rupees more than it has ever been there having in that time invested about two Laack of Rupees." 381

But they were suffering various inconveniences from the "ruined circumstances" of their dalals, no one of whom (of any credit) being ready to undertake the management of the Company's business unless their factory was removed to another place. So on 27th August, 1752, they recommended that point to the consideration of the members of the Council in Calcutta. 382 On 27th September the latter received 90 bundles and 5 tucktaes of cloth from that factory ses and sent there eight chests of Arcot rupees on 2nd October. 384 The investments received from the Jugdea factory in 1752 were inferior in quality to those of the former years, particularly the baftas. The members of the Council in Calcutta, while examining those goods, noticed a great difference in sorting them and therefore sent back 925 pieces, which were damaged and much torn, to the gentlemen there for inspection and at the same time sent them strict orders to be particular in sorting the goods and also in returning to the dalals all

³⁸¹ Letter to Court, 2nd January, 1752, para. 51.

³⁸² Consultations, 25th September, 1752.

³⁸³ Consultations, 28th September, 1752.

³⁸⁴ Consultations, 23rd October, 1752.



such pieces as were not agreeable to musters. 885 About the removal of the factory they wrote to the gentlemen there to consult those at the Dacca factory about it and to be careful about not incurring thereby heavy expenses for the Company. Accordingly Mr. Playdell went from Jugdea to Dacca. The gentlemen at the Jugdea factory wanted to remove their factory to Mutlubgunge while those at Dacca preferred Collinda 386 as the latter place was "a considerable mart for Baftaes, about five hours' distance from Jugdea and situated in the midst of their cloth Aurungs." 387 The gentlemen at the Dacca factory wrote to the Council in Calcutta on 17th October that the removal of the Jugdea factory to Mutlubgunge which was within a day's journey from Dacca "must greatly prejudice and obstruct their investment, make the goods much dearer and expose the Hon'ble Company to a very great additional and unnecessary charge; that as Mutlubgunge is so considerably distant from Jugdea and the other Baftae aurungs, they can as easily provide those goods from Dacca as any set of gentlemen could do from Mutlubgunge and with this advantage at a very trifling charge without risking the extortions of a Durbar That among other inconveniences which would attend

³⁸⁵ Consultations, 30th October, 1752.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Consultations, 23rd October, 1752.



setting this new factory, it would occasion a rise in the price of cloth provided for the Company at Dacca, as they have experienced within these few years from a French gentleman having settled at Serampore near Chandpore which has occasioned a considerable advance in the price of dimities and other cloths purchased at that and the neighbouring Aurungs " 388 According to the orders of the Council they recommended one Paramananda as a dalal to Mr. Baillie, who had come to Dacca from Jugdea in July. Towards the end of December, the gentlemen at the Dacca and the Jugdea factories, in concurrence with Paramananda dalal, agreed to transfer the Jugdea factory to Luckipur. 389 Paramananda declared that he would be able "with proper conveniences to carry on the Hon'ble Company's business of the Factory at this place" and that he would "enlarge its investment to four lacks of rupees annually." 390 The gentlemen at the Dacca factory requested the Council in Calcutta through their letter, dated the 1st of January, 1753, to apply to the Nawab of Murshidabad for their settling at Luckipur "in order that they may have no impediment from the (local) Government of Jugdea." 391

³⁸⁸ Consultations, 23rd October, 1752.

³⁸⁹ Consultations, 8th January, 1753.

³⁹⁰ Ibid. 391 Ibid.



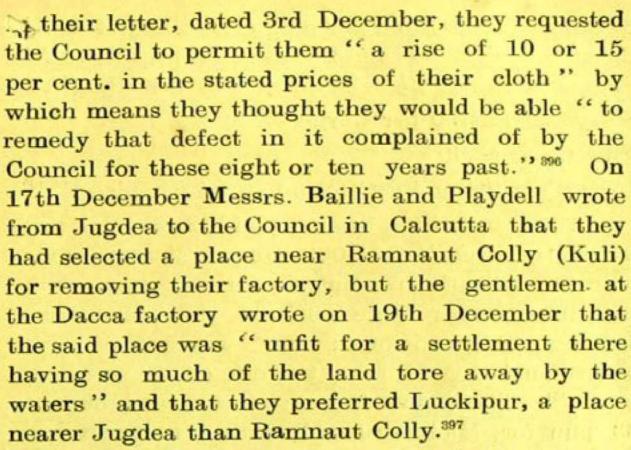
On 28th October the gentlemen at the Jugdea factory tried to explain the defect in the quality of their investments by informing the Council of the "very extraordinary rise of cotton there that the value of their baftaes was increased about 20 per cent. beyond their general price, since which cotton has had no fall and rise which was then as usual at near two maunds for a rupee has rose to 25 seers, so that the manufacture of a piece of Jugdea cloth from two annas has rose to five annas. That these inconveniences occasion rise in their baftaes in the whole of the above 25 per cent. and as notwithstanding they have their cloth at its old price so the defect in quality will appear they hope as ought to be expected." 392 On 22nd November the Council in Calcutta received five tucktaes of cloth sos and on 7th December 314 bales and 1 tucktae of cloth form Jugdea. 894 As the time for the incursions of the Mugs was drawing near, the gentlemen at the Jugdea factory requested the Council in Calcutta in their letter of 16th November "to order the pinnace to be with them by the end of next month for the safe conveyance of their cloth and a chest of good powder with a lattorn (lantern) or two." 395 Again

³⁹² Consultations, dated 13th November, 1752.

³⁹³ Consultations, 27th November, 1752.

³⁹⁴ Consultations, 7th December, 1752.

³⁹⁵ Consultations, 4th December, 1752.



On 19th February, 1741, orders for investments
were sent by the Council in
Balasore factory and
Bulrumgurry factory.

Calcutta to the Balasore factory
and also 13 soldiers to protect
it. 398 The Company's Chief at that factory contracted for the full quantity as ordered in the
list. 399 On 19th March of the same year the
factory began proposals for contract, which continued till 26th March and at last a contract was
made for "Cossaes Malda 40 and 2 at 21 Rupees

³⁹⁶ Consultations, 17th December, 1752.

³⁹⁷ Consultations, 28th December, 1752.

³⁹⁸ Letter to Court, 11th December, 1741, para. 95.

³⁹⁹ Ibid. para. 107.

8 Annaes (annas) and A (refers to the best sort Cossaes Malda 40 and 21 at 24 rupees the 'A' Cogmaria 40 and 21 at 9 Rupees 2 Annaes the ('A') Serry (sari) at 70 per Corge

Fine (sari) at 90

Orna 21 at 9.4 and 2 Ci(o)vid at 8.4 per piece." 400

In the month of January, 1742, the Balasore factory received Rs. 24,000 from Calcutta along with the list of investments for that year. But the investments there suffered that year from dearness of provisions; the weavers of that place could get rice at the rate of 10 seers per rupee.401 There the "price of cowries broke at 33 pun for Madras rupee" owing to the arrival of two Maldavia (Maldive) ships on 12th September. 402 Mr. Feake, Chief of that factory, "had trouble with the (native) Government about one Huge Wynn falsely accused of Robbing the French Company, the Phousdar demanded Gunpowder or 50 maund saltpetre which was refused." 403 A Portuguese, who had taken shelter in that factory, was forcibly taken out by the native Government's faujdar, who also compelled Mr. Feake to pay him Rs. 1,300.404 Being informed

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, para. 99.

⁴⁰¹ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, para. 65

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid, para. 82.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, para. 83.



of these the authorities in Calcutta sent there 12 soldiers in the month of November. In spite of the various disturbances for the two following years, that factory continued to make contracts for goods with the merchants. Mr. Henry Kelsall went as an assistant to the Balasore factory on 26th February, 1745. Mr. Heath, Chief of that factory, informed the Council on 16th May, 1745, that he had advanced Rs. 10,000 for cloths; Mr. he had also contracted for 100 tons of cowries at 36 pun per rupee.

On 4th March, 1746, the Council in Calcutta sent the list of investments for that year to the Balasore factory and also Rs. 30,000.400 On the 5th of May, 1746, Mr. Heath wrote to the Council in Calcutta for sending down to him a party of twenty soldiers for the protection of the factory there against the "insolence of the country Government." 400a His request was complied with on 22nd May. On the 11th of September next the Council received a letter from Mr. James Altham, who had succeeded Mr. Heath as chief of that factory, containing a request for a supply of Rs. 15,000 to purchase cowries and to meet the expenses

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, para. 84.

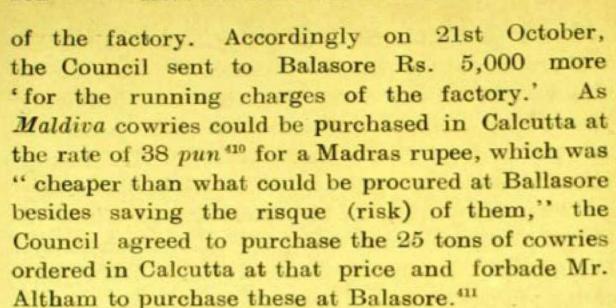
⁴⁰⁶ Letter to Court, 3rd August, 1744, para. 22.

¹⁰⁷ Letter to Court, 11th August, 1745, para. 14.

⁴⁰⁸ Letter to Court, 31st January, 1746, para. 50.

⁴⁰⁹ Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 19.

¹⁰⁹a Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 79.



Mr. Heath, after coming back from Patna on account of ill health, again took charge of the Balasore factory from Mr. James Altham according to the orders of the Calcutta Council of 21st January, 1747. On 21st March, the Council in Calcutta directed Mr. Heath "to provide as many Goods as possible without advancing Dadney. On 1st August Mr. Heath wrote to the Council asking for a supply of money to carry on the investments there. The Council permitted him to draw there a bill on the Company, and so he drew 8,000 Madras rupees in favour of one Bhagabat Pal. The Council also sent back to him 27 bales

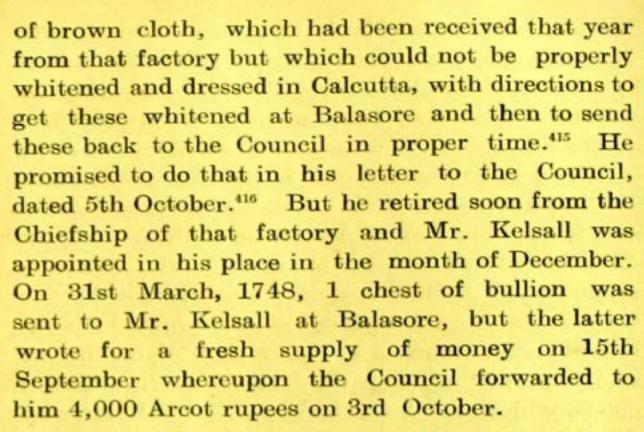
^{410 &}quot;A sum of eighty, Kauri shells, equal to twenty gundas, and of which sixteen are equal to a Kahan."—Wilson's Glossary, p. 393.

⁴¹¹ Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para. 19.

⁴¹² Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 168.

⁴¹³ Letter to Court, 10th January, 1748, para. 162.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid, paras, 166 and 169.



On 20th March, 1749, the Council in Calcutta sent the list of goods to be provided that year at Balasore to Mr. Henry Kelsall "with orders to comply therewith as near as possible and at the same time sent him a chest of Rupees." But the factories at Balasore and Bulrumgurry were subject to frequent harassments at the hands of the Maratha invaders and could not collect investments up to any satisfactory quantity. In the year 1754 a large balance, exclusive of what had been advanced for sannoes to the gomastas at the Chumra aurung, remained in cash at the Bulrumgurry

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, paras. 166 and 167.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, para. 169.

^{417.} Letter to Court, 10th August, 1749, para. 22.

factory. The Council in Calcutta asked Mr. McGuire, Chief of that factory, on 11th March, to make a "catalogue of what quantity of goods ordered in the list of Investment he could provide," and to return to Calcutta "the surplus reserving no more than sufficient for such a provision." The Council also noted that the Olmorra goods sent from that factory to Calcutta did not answer the expectations of the members. Mr. McGuire replied on 30th March that "he contracted with the weavers for the whole of the sannoes Investment which amounted to Rs. 30,000" and that he was extremely sorry for the badness of the Olmorra goods, which was due to the fact that "the country round about having been infested with Marattoes the last year prevented him from inspecting into the manufactures there in person agreeable to his Intentions which he proposed to do this season as the Marattoes had left the province and should set out for that Aurung the next day " where he would wait for the orders of the Council to know if he will contract for chucklass piniascoes and ginghams 418 upon last year's musters. In the year 1760 "four or five hundred Mahrattas were arrived at Balasore and had action with Meer Abdulram Khan, the

^{418 &}quot;A kind of stuff described in Draper's Dictionary as made from cotton yarn dyed before being woven. The Indian ginghams were apparently sometimes of cotton mixt with some other material."—Hobson-Jobson, p. 287.

HISTORY OF THE IMPORTANT FACTORIES 255

Phousdar there; on both sides many men were slain and wounded, and Meer Abdulram Khan was made prisoner and carried away. The President of the Calcutta Council thereupon sent 3 companies of sepoys to Midnapur "to reconnoitre the roads." 419

419 Long, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 289.

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CHAPTER III

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

SECTION I .- Asiatic and Inter-Provincial Trade of Bengal in the Mid-Eighteenth Century.

"Bengal from the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, and the natural history of the Hindoos, was always remarkable (1) Asiatic. for its commerce." Grose re-

marks that "the trade of Bengal supplied rich cargoes for fifty or sixty ships yearly."2

Vigorous Asiatic trade in the mid-eighteenth century;

carried on a vigorous trade with the other Asiatic countries, and according to Dow, during the

first half of the 18th century, "the balance of trade was against all nations in favour of Bengal; and it was the sink where gold and silver disappeared without the least prospect of return."3 The exports of Bengal to the Gulfs of Persia and

Arabia were very great and she Exports of Bengal to supplied Arabia, Persia, Turkey. the Asiatic countries sent in large quantities; Georgia, Armenia and "the

lesser Asia" with her manufactures and brought

Dow's Hindoostan, Vol. I, ciii.

Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. II. p. 238.

Op. cit. Taylor, A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture at Dacca, p. 66.



home annually coffers of gold. She had also a flourishing trade with the East-ern Kingdoms of Asia, the Malayan and Philippine islands. Malayan and Philippine islands.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

At least down to the year 1756 "the coasts of Coramondel and Malabar, the gulf of Persia and Red Sea, nay even Manilla, China and the coast of Africa were obliged to Bengal for taking off their cotton, pepper, drugs, fruits, chank, cowries, tin, etc., as on the other hand they were supplied from Bengal with what they could not well be without, such as raw silk and its various manufactures, opium, vast quantities of cotton cloth, rice, ginger, turmeric, long pepper, etc., and all sorts of gruff goods." Sugar was also one of the most

[&]quot;All the European companies formed their investments with money brought into the country; the Gulphs (the two Gulphs of Mocha and Persia) poured in their treasures into this river (Ganges), and across the continent, an inland trade was driven to the westward to the extremity of the Kingdom of Guzzerat."—Letter from the Select Committee to the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 26th Sept., 1767; vide Verelst's View of Bengal, Appendix, p. 59; Hill's Bengal, Vol. III, p. 216.

⁵ Dow's Hindoostan, Vol. I, cii.

⁶ It is important to note that Bengal had thus to import cotton from outside. Thus the native production of cotton (Rennel's Journals) was not sufficient for her extensive manufacture.

⁷ Causes of the loss of Calcutta by David Rannie,



important commodities of trade between Bengal and these different countries. Thus almost every year "number of Persians, Abyssinians, Arabs, Chinese, Guzrats, Malabarians, Turks, Moors, Jews, Georgians, Armenians and merchants from all parts of Asia" poured into Bengal, while Bengal also gave her products and manufactures to them.

Trade with Kashmir in Tibet had their agents stationed in Bengal and the principal articles of merchandise between Bengal and Tibet were "broadcloth, atter, skins, neel (indigo), pearls, coral, amber and other heads of chank, spices, tobacco, sugar, Malda striped sattins, and a few white cloths chiefly coarse; the returns are made in gold dust, musk and cow-tails." 10

Hill's Bengal in 1756-1757, Vol. III, p. 890; Grose, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 285.

- 8 Grose, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 234.
- ⁹ Mr. Scrafton has expressed, 'till of late years inconceivable numbers of merchants from all parts of Asia in general as well as from the rest of Hindustan in particular, sometimes in bodies of many thousands at a time, used annually to resort to Bengal with little else than ready money or bills to purchase the produce of those provinces.'—Bolts, Considerations on Indian Affairs, p. 21.
- 10 Memorandum by Mr. Bogle on the Trade of Tibet, Indian Historical Quarterly, June 1983.



But a variety of political circumstances, affecting seriously the destinies and internal conditions of those different states, gradually checked the progress of this vigorous commerce. Dow has summarised the situation in the Asiatic countries in the following few lines:—

" Persia, about 30 years ago a great and flourishing empire, has been torn (a) Disorders and to pieces and almost depopulated anarchy in the Asiatic countries: by the cruelties of Nadir Shaw; and since his assassination (1747 A.D.), by unremitting civil wars. The few inhabitants who escaped the rage of the sword sit down in the midst of poverty. Georgia and Armenia who shared in the troubles of Persia, shared also her untoward fate. Indigence has shut up the doors of commerce; vanity has disappeared with wealth and men content themselves with the coarse manufacture of their native countries. The Turkish empire has long declined on its southern and eastern frontiers. Egypt rebelled: Babylonia, under its Basha, revolted. The distracted state of the former has almost shut up the trade by caravans, from Suez to Cairo; from the latter of which, the manufactures of Bengal were conveyed by sea to all the ports of the Ottoman dominions. rapacity of the Basha of Bagdad, which is increased by the necessity of keeping a great standing



force to support his usurpation, has environed with terror the walls of Bussora, which circumstance has almost annihilated its commerce with Syria.... Trade is in a manner unknown; the merchants of Bussorah are ruined; and there were, last year, in the warehouses of that city, of the manufactures of Bengal, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, which could not be sold for half the prime cost." The trade of Bengal with the kingdom and islands of eastern Asia was also on the decline, if it had not come to a standstill. The political

crises and upheavals in Bengal

(b) Political changes had also some share in causing this decrease of her Asiatic com-

merce. No sooner had the storms of the Marattha invasions blown over her and the tactful Nawab Allahvardi had closed his eyes for ever, than she heard again the thundering of the cannon at Tanna's Fort, at Budgebudge in Calcutta, and on the field of Plassey. The victory of the English at Plassey brought her face to face with the difficult problem of adjusting herself to new circumstances, while it increased the prestige and power

Bengal's commerce under the control of the Company's people.

of the English trading company to a considerable degree. Both at home and abroad her commerce came to be entirely transferred into the

merce came to be entirely transferred into the hands of the Company's people.

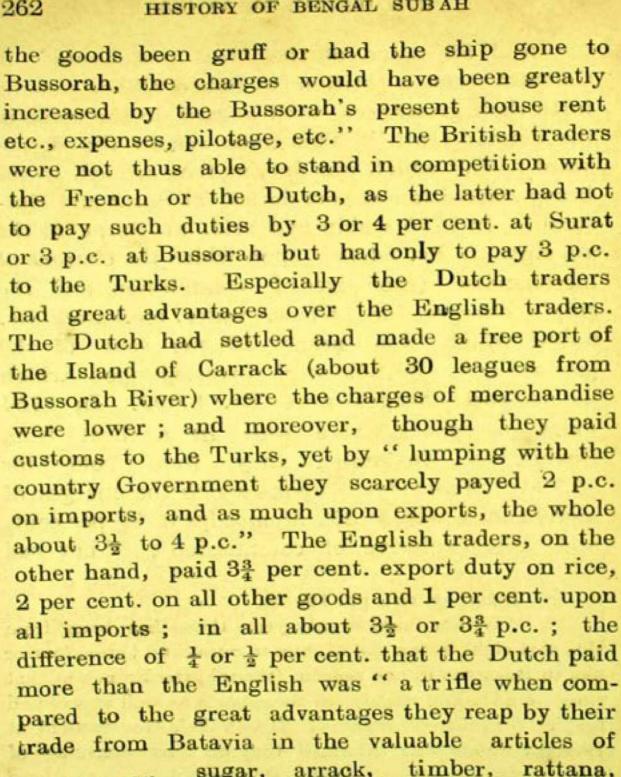
¹¹ Dow's Hindoostan, Vol. I, pp. exiv-exvi.



In 1758 some of the 'free merchants' in Calcutta sent a petition to Robert Clive, putting forth their grievances with regard to the trade in the Persian Gulf.12 This trade was on the downward path,18 which was due, as they argued, to the heavy imposition of port duties at Surat and Bussorah. In 1755 a ship had sold at Surat to the amount of Rs. 54,481 upon which the charges of merchandise (exclusive of commission and the ship's charges for ballast, water, etc.) were Rs. 6,390 which was nearly 12 per cent. of the produce; Rs. 34,859 were invested upon which the export charges were Rs. 3,699. In 1754 some piecegoods were sent in a boat from Bushire to Bussorah; they were sold for 95,736 'Mamoodys' upon which the charges of merchandise were 9,352 Momoodys or 93 per cent. and this exclusive of commission; "but had

¹² Long, op. cit., pp. 169-73.

this port eight to ten sail of ships to Surat and three, four or five to Bussorah in one season (though the French at that time were trading largely to these ports as well as we) and for the first three years of Mr. Wake's Government at Bombay we are well informed that his Surat consulage of 2 per cent. amounted from thirty-eight to forty-three thousand Bombay rupees annually, whereas Mr. Bourchier does not now receive ten. One to two ships with a small stock filled up with Moor's freights being all that now goes to Surat and of ships that go into the gulf of Persia few make any sales at Gambroon or Bussorah."—Ibid.



Complaint of the " free merchants " in Calcutta against high duties Asiatic trade and their petition for certain regulations. sugar, arrack, timber, rattana, pepper, etc.' Having all those arguments in their favour, the petitioners prayed that the following regulations might be passed,



viz., that to trade to every Port in India where owners may choose to send their ships be free to all English vessels; that no further restraints nor duties be laid on trade anywhere in India, on the contrary that duties be considerably lessened at Bombay, Surat and Bussorah for reasons already mentioned; also that the 3 p.c. advance duty on Malabar pepper be taken off at Surat because the Hon'ble Company get not a grain of pepper more by it at Tellicherry, and it only prevents an Englishman from trading in an article that every Banyan trades in ; that proper encouragement may be given to retrieve the valuable manufacture of sugar, unaccountably lost in this place (which by causing a great export of rice, enhances the price of labour and consequently of all other gruff piece-goods and raw silk), particularly that no export nor import duties be levied upon Bengal sugar, at any English settlement for years. That due encouragement, be given for to manufacture sugar, arrack, etc. at Bengal for that place may soon be brought to rival Batavia and greatly increase trade. And lastly, that the following orders obtained from the Hon'ble Company many years ago (and since turned to the ruin of trade) be revoked, viz, the order that no person without permission from the President shall remain in the rainy season at Surat nor at any subordinate factory in India, except the Hon'ble Company's servants belonging to the

Presidency under whose direction the subordinate is. The order for all captains and supercargos at Gambron to reside in the factory and sell their goods in presence of the chief. The order made lately at Bombay for no Englishman at Bussorah, etc., to apply to the country Government for recovery of debits, etc., but through the President." ¹⁴

We do not know whether these regulations were ever passed, but gradually the British East India

The Company established its enclusive right of exporting piecegoods to the Asiatic countries. Company established its exclusive right of exporting piece-goods to the markets of Bussorah, Jidda, and Mocha. For the disposal of the goods of this joint concern, the Governor

and Council of Calcutta fitted out ships generally known by the name of the 'freightships' on which the goods were first shipped, and the remainder of the tonnage was filled up on freight. All these affairs were managed by a member of the Council in Calcutta, who was 'acting owner' and kept a warehouse for this purpose generally known in Calcutta by the name of 'freight warehouse.' Bolts has described the anomalies and abuses that this practice produced in the following language:

"Frequent instances have been known of the goods of private merchants, even Europeans, but particularly of those belonging to Armenians, Moguls, Gentoos, being in consequence of this

¹⁴ Long, op. cit., pp. 171-72.



monopoly, stopped on the public road, and by force carried to the freight warhouse and the proprietors of such goods have Evils of this monobeen obliged contrary to their poly according to Bolts. wills to see their goods shipped on vessels they had not a good opinion of, and going on voyages whose destination and management were often contrary to their own private scheme of trade; in consequence of which unwarrantable proceedings, those merchants have frequently lost their sales, have had their goods damaged ... and have sometimes lost even the goods themselves." 15 In the absence of any other evidence, it is very difficult to say whether Bolts

describes the actual state of things or merely

gives vent to his vindictive and propaganda

spirit. But this much can be accepted as certain

that gradually the Asiatic trade of Bengal passed

exclusively into the hands of the English Company.

The different parts of India were commercially connected with one another from very remote times, and about the middle of the 18th Century, the commercial relations of Bengal with the other provinces were

Active commercial relations of Bengal with the other provinces of India till the mid-eighteenth century.

as active and vigorous as before.

"A variety of merchants of
different nations and religions,
such as Cashmerians, Multanys

¹⁵ Considerations, pp. 195-97.



(Multani = people of Multan), Patans (Pathans), Sheikhs,16 Suniassys,17 Poggyahs (up-country merchants with turbans on their heads), Betteeas (Bhutias) and many others used to resort to Bengal annually in caseelahs,18 or large parties of many thousands together (with troops of oxen) for the transport of goods from different parts of Hindustan," 19 Holwell writes :-"in tranquil times this place (Burdwan) afforded an annual large vend for the valuable staples of lead, copper, broad-cloth, tin, pepper, tootanague. The Puggiah merchants from Delly and Agra, resorted yearly to this great mart, and would (come) again if peace was established in the country: -they purchased the above staples, either with money, or in barter for opium, tincal, saltpetre and horses." 19a For many years the merchants of Kashmir were accustomed to advance money at Sunderbunds and provide

¹⁶ Perhaps those refer to the Moslems of Arabia settling in India. Gradually the use of the term became more and more general and it came to be used also for Moslems coming to India from other countries besides Arabia.

¹⁷ Those refer to the Sannyāsi (mendicant) traders, coming down in batches from Himalayan region, with finer forest products, such as pieces of sandal and aloe wood, rudrākṣa beads, etc.

¹⁸ A kind of boat.

¹⁹ Bolts' Considerations, p. 200.

¹⁹ª Interesting Historical Events, p. 196.



molunghes to work the saltpans there. 20 Similarly, the merchants from Bengal visited the different parts of upper Hindusthan, Assam, Cachar, Malabar and the Coramondel coasts 21 and Gujrat. This has found expression in contemporary litera-

ture in the following manner: -References in con-"Being a Vaisya, he maintains temporary literature. his family by carrying on a trade throughout the different parts of the world, such Hastina (Delhi), Karnata (Arcot), Vanga as (Bengal), Kalinga, Gurjara (Gujrat), Bārānasī (Benares), Mahārāstra, Kashmir, Pañcāla (Rohilkhand), Kamboja (Tibet),22 Bhoja (Shahabad), Magadha, Jayantī (?), Drāvida (Southern India), Nepala, Kānchī (Conjeeveram), Ajodhya (Oudh), Avantī (Malwa), Mathurā, Kāmpilya (Farukkabad District), Māyāpurī (Haridwar), Dvārāvatí (Dvaraka, Kathiawad), Chīna (China), Mahāchīna (Mongolia), Kāmrupa (Assam)." 23

²⁰ A letter from Mir Kasim to Vansittart, Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 229-31; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 167.

²¹ Dow's Hindustan, Vol. I, p. ciii.

²² Kashmiri and Armenian merchants carried on a trade between Bengal and Nepal and even went further up to Tibet. Cf. "It is said that at the time, Gurgin Khan, having heard from the Kashmiris and the Armenians, who were in trade with Lasa, about the wealth of Nepal, persuaded Mir Kasim to send an expedition to Nepal."—Khulāṣat-ut-tawārikh, f. 106. (Khudabukhsh Library, Patna).

²³ Jayanārāyana's Harilīlā.



There is also a passage in another piece of work called 'Candrakānta' which tells us clearly that merchants from Birbhum and Mallabhum (Bankura) carried on trade with Gujrat, and exchanged their own articles with those of that place.²⁴

The manufactures of Bengal found their way into the remotest parts of Hindusthan, and "the

Bengal articles carried into the remotest parts of Hindustban. low price at which salt could be conveyed through all the branches of the Ganges, rendered it an

advantageous article of trade in the inland parts of Hindusthan. Great quantities were sent to Benares and Mirzapur from the markets of which, the province of Oudh and Allahabad, the territories of the Raja of Bundela and of all the petty princes of the Kingdom of Malwa, were supplied." ²⁵ Vessels laden with betel-nut, tobacco, salt²⁶ and manufactured goods went to Assam

Verelst puts the following note on the higher prices of

Gandhavaṇika by caste and an inhabitant of Mallabhum. Leaving my country I have come here with seven boats, filled with articles of exchange. I want to exchange my own commodities (with those of this place), and I can stay here if you can provide me with those." The king replied,—"You will get as much as you want in exchange, if you will stay here with me."—Typical Selections, etc., Part II, pp. 1408-12; Bangabhāṣa o Sāhitya, pp. 662-63.

²⁵ Dow's Hindustan, Vol. I, pp. cxix-cxx.

²⁶ A letter from Mir Kasim to Vansittart, Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, pp. 164-68.



through the Brahmaputra and the Meghna, and they brought in exchange silk, lac, mugga dhuties, ivory and timber. The traders of Bengal brought aloe wood and elephant's tusks from Cachar and fir timber from Nepal. Merchants sent iron, stoneware, rice, and other things from Balasore to Calcutta and they brought tobacco and other things from Calcutta to Balasore. Holwell has mentioned Balasore stone dishes and cups in

Gowalpara, Rangpur and Chilmary:—" At Gwalpara the price of salt, after the establishment of the society (1765), was 400 Arcot rupees per hundred Assam maunds, which is full 1 d. 16-64 per lb. In the Rangpur and Chilmary districts, the price was 250 Arcot rupees per 100 Chilmary maunds, which is 0 d. 53-54 per lb. These were also the average prices for many years before the establishment of the society; but then they were the prices at which salt used to be engrossed by the rich, who sold it again at a considerable profit to the poor. These particulars I have from Mr. Baillie, who was agent for the society in the districts of Gwalpara, Rangpur, and Chilmary."—A View of Bengal, pp. 116-17 (foot-note).

27 Copy of a letter from the Chief and Council of Dacca to the Board, dated January 10, 1753, Vansittarts's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 221; Dow's Hindustan, Vol. I, p. exv.

- 28 Proceedings, June 17, 1763 A.D.
- 29 Proceedings, November 1, 1762.
- Balasore, January 1751. Vide Long, No. 538, p. 250.

the list of articles on which duties were levied in the Calcutta market.³¹

But various causes gradually contributed to bring

Causes of the decline of inter-provincial trade by the native traders: about a decrease of this interprovincial trade of Bengal by the native traders. One of these lay in the gradual over-shadowing

of the Imperial authority at Delhi by the rise of independent provincial governors, who framed

(a) Independent provincial governors framing distinct laws; distinct transit and customs laws in their respective states to the great disadvantage of the traders.

So long as the Mughal Empire was an organised and united whole, the merchants from one part of it could travel with safety to another and were not severely pressed with heavy chowkey exactions 32 while passing through the different provinces; but "the number of independent kingdoms which have started up from the ruins of the Mogul Empire, has almost destroyed the inland commerce of Bengal with the upper parts of Hindustan. Every prince levies heavy duties upon all goods that pass through the dominions. The merchants who formerly came down towards the mouths of the Ganges to purchase commodities have discontinued a trade, not only ruined by imposts, but even unsafe from banditti. The province of Oudh

³¹ Indian Tracts.

³² Consultations, Feb. 5, 1753 A.D.; Consultations, May 30, 1751 A.D.



and Assam are the only inland countries with which Bengal drives, at present, any trade." ³³ In course of a few years, Bengal's Indian trade also passed into the hands of the East India Company's agents who had the Company's ser-power and means, sufficient for combating with these disadvantages, and their behaviour totally closed ³⁴ the doors of that commerce for the common traders of the country.

³³ Dow's Hindustan, Vol. I, p. cxv.

revenues or circulated through the province by the poorer sort of people, to whom, whilst they afforded a subsistence, they at the same time added to the income of the state by the duties gathered upon them."—Hastings' opinion in the Consultations of 1st March, 1763. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 347; Letter from Mir Kasim to Vansittart, Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 164-68; Bolt's Considerations, p. 197.

Section II.—History of the British East India Company's Trade in Bengal.

In 1740 Allahvardi usurped the masnad of Bengal for himself, and under him Bengal again passed into the hands of a strong and vigorus Since the death of Murshid Kuli, the ruler. English Company had carried on its trade, along with its servants and agents, according to its own interests and latterly no royal orders or official pressure obstructed the progress of the Company's commerce. But with the accession of Allahvardi the Company had to deal with a Nawab who was as strong as he was upright and who had a keen insight⁸⁵ into the economic condition of His attitude towards the Western his state. trading companies was impartial and he did not like to exalt one at the expense of the other.

Impartial and strong attitude of Allahvardi towards the European traders. forbade "the English and the French from committing any hostilities against each other in his dominions during the war

of his Government, favoured the poor merchants and administered justice very fairly when complaints succeeded in reaching him."—Memoir of M. Jean Law in Hill's Bengal, 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 160.



declared between the two nations in 1741; and in the year 1748, he, on some contempt of his authority attacked and drove the factor of the Ostend Company out of the river of Hughly, and he several times exacted money of the English, French and Dutch settlements alledging that they ought to contribute to the expenses, as they participated of the protection of his arms." ³⁶

During his regime, the progress of the East India Company's trade in Bengal was not absolutely

Obstructions to E.I.C.'s trade during his regime.

unhampered. The Company had to struggle hard against various odds and impediments, and had

to pay much for ultimate mastery over the commerce of Bengel. Firstly, it had to satisfy the Nawab on more than one occasion, by the payment of large sums of money and various other presents; secondly, the plunderings and ravages of the Marathas exercised a pernicious influence on its trade; thirdly, it was sometimes harassed by some of the native Zamindars; and lastly, the rebellion of the Nawab's Afghan generals indirectly affected its trade to some extent. All these have been already described in details; 3600 a few more may be added here.

In the year 1740, when Nawab Allahvardi had advanced towards Orissa in pursuctions of the Nawab.

advanced towards Orissa in pursuit of Baquir Ali, the son-in-law of Murshid Kuli, the vanquished

³⁶ Orme, Indostan, Vol. II, pp. 45-46.

³⁶⁶ Chapter on " English Factories and Investments."

Governor of Orissa, he demanded from the English Company "vessels to cruise about Ballasore and the coast of Orixa (Orissa) saying he would be revenged on the 3 Nations if his Enemys Escaped threatening to plunder all the factorys." 37 In the same year, English gentlemen in the Cassimbazar factory were obliged to pay the Nawab a visit which cost them Rs. 17,051, besides Rs. 11,600 paid to his officers. 38 In 1744 the Nawab accused the English of helping his enemies (the Marathas), and made an extraordinary demand on those at Cassimbazar, setting forth that "the English (who now) carried on the Trade of the whole World, used (formerly) to have 4 or 5 ships, but now brought 40 or 50 sail, which belonged not to the company..... " He ordered them to refrain from carrying on their business at any place unless they had supplied him with two months' pay for his troops amounting to three million rupees. At this the Englishmen in the Cassimbazar factory sent vakils to Fatechand soliciting his advice in the matter. Fatechand instructed them to make up matters quickly with the Nawab. The authorities in Calcutta gave them liberty to offer the Nawab from 40,000 to

³⁷ Letter to Court, dated 11th December, 1741, para, 128.

³⁸ Ibid. para. 131.

Letter to Court, 3rd August, 1744, para. 24.

50,000 rupees using Fatechand's and Chainray's(?) good offices.40 But they did not venture to offer only Rs. 50,000 to the Nawab, and Fatechand said" that " if empowered to offer five (lacs) he would endeavour to prevail on the Nabob to accept it, that the French and the Ducth had already agreed to pay their share on the Nabob's settling with the English, adding that in Shuja Daulet's 42 time a much larger sum was paid.....'. The Company's business at Dacca and Patna was also stopped,48 and the Nawab sent horse and foot soldiers to the gurrah aurungs." He threatened to take up the Company's merchants one by one; Preet Cotmah, one of the Company's gomastas, was tortured till he agreed to pay Rs. 1,35,000 and was delivered to another tormentor to make him agree to pay 3 lacks more; Narsinghdas, a dadnimerchant's gomasta, was harshly treated; Bally Cotmah sought protection in the Cassimbazar factory and Kebalram, a Cassimbazar merchant, The Council in Calcutta then was seized. ordered the chief of the Cassimbazar factory to offer Rs. 1,00,000 to the Nawab and accordingly their vakils were sent to the Nawab's darbar. But

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid, paras. 26 and 27.

¹² Nawab Shujauddin.

⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 8th November, 1744, para, 3.

the Nawab told them that "the English carried on the Trade of the whole country, yet paid no customs (and) secreted many of the Riots." He further demanded that Bally Cotmah should be delivered up to him "threatening to surround all the Factorys and prevent them getting provisions and if that did not make them comply with his demand (then he) would seize all their Money and Goods at the Aurungs." 45 When the matter was again referred to Fatechand and Chinray, they told the Company's vakils that the Nawab "would not be content with Two or Three Lack (lac), being obliged to get sufficient to pay the troops even at the Risque (risk) of his life; the Military officers were impatient and daily importuned him to give orders to fall on the English and the Aurungs." 46 They, therefore, asked the Company to offer speedily what might satisfy the Nawab. After considering the pros and cons of the matter, and apprehending a general loss of investments, the authorities in Calcutta resolved to solicit Seaid Hamud Cawn (Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a nephew of the Nawab and Faujdar of Hugli) at Hugli by paying him a large sum of money, to intercede for them before the Nawab. Sayyid Ahmad Khan promised to " procure Perwannas for the currency of Business for four Lack of Rupees." But he

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid, para. 5. -

could not make good his promise, and so the President wrote to Mr. Forster on 28th August, 1744, directing him to finish the affiair at Murshidabad "on the best terms he can within the compass of Proposal to Seiad Hamet." 47 At last, the Chief of the factory at Cassimbazar came to a settlement with the Nawab in the month of September by agreeing to pay him three lacs and a half. Fatechand brought to the factory, "perwannas for the Company's business at Hugly, Patna, Dacca and all the 'Aurungs;' he brought also all the gomastas "fetched (i.e., arrested) from Malda and a receipt signed by Omichand's Gomasta for the money he had received back and the obligation given by him for 40,000 rupees and three obligations signed by the Malda Gomasta for a lac of rupees and two for 5,000 each...for which he received, in return, an Interest Note for Rs. 3,50,000." 48 These troubles naturally affected the Company's trade, as the Cassimbazar factory and the other subordinate factories could not properly fill in the investments, 40 and also the imported goods could not be satisfactorily disposed of. 50 Besides these, the Cassimbazar factory was obliged to pay Rs. 30,500 to the

⁴⁷ Ibid, para. 10.

⁴⁸ Letter to Court, dated 8th November, 1744, para. 12.

⁴⁹ Ibid, para. 13.

⁵⁰ Ibid, para. 17.

Nawab's General and officers in the month of October (1744).51 A fine horse was also presented to the Nawab, which cost 2,500 Madras rupees. The Patna factory had to present Rs. 5,000 to the Nawab and Rs. 3,000 to his officers, and had to sign a paper as to the rent of Chuprah town at Rs. 4,537-9-6.52 The Dacca factory was also obliged to pay Rs. 5,000.58

In 1748 the Nawab became seriously incensed

Complaints of the Armenian and the Mughal traders against the English Company.

and retaliatory measures of the Nawab against the latter.

with the English Company, as the latter had seized some trading vessels of the Armenian and the Mughal merchants.54 The Armenians and the Mughals complained to the Nawab, who at once sent a parwannah to Governor Barwell to the following effect :- "The

Syads, Moghuls, Armenians, etc., merchants of Houghly have complained that laks of Goods and Treasure with their ships you have seized and plundered, and I am informed from foreign parts that ships bound to Houghly you seized on under pretence of their belonging to the French.

⁵¹ Letter to Court, dated 9th February, 1745, para. 76. Mr. Forster paid a visit to the Nawab and was received graciously; the President also received a secryow (headdress) and an elephant.

⁵² Ibid, paras. 77-78.

⁵³ Ibid, para. 79.

⁵⁴ Consultations, May 15, June 1 and July 13, 1748.



ship belonging to Antony with laks on Board from Mochel, and several curiosities sent me by the Sheriff of that place on that ship you have also seized and plundered. These merchants are the Kingdom's benefactors, their Imports and Exports are an advantage to all men, and their complaints are so grevious that I cannot forbear any longer giving ear to them. As you were not permitted to commit piracies therefore I now write you that on receipt of this you deliver up all the Merchants' Goods and effects to them as also what appertains unto me, otherwise you may be assured a due chastisement in such manner as you least ex-The Company's Governor in Calcutta replied that the goods had been seized by a King's ship over which he had no control, and that the French, who had been at war with the English, had seized the goods of the Armenians as belonging to an enemy.56

But this could not satisfy the Nawab. He had already adopted repressive measures against the English traders in their different factories. He had ordered peons to be stationed on all their gomastas at the aurungs and had stopped the boats which were bringing down their goods. 57 Wadham Brooke, Chief of the Council at Cassimbazar, wrote a letter to the Council in Calcutta

⁵⁵ Consultations, January 11, 1749, A.D.

⁵⁶ I. D. R., Bengal and Madras papers, Vol. II.

⁵⁷ Letter to Court, January 27, 1748 A.D., para. 2.

on 2nd January, 1749, informing that "a Chubdar 58 from the Nabob came to their factory with a perwannah for the Hon'ble President, copy whereof is enclosed with an inventory of the cargoes of the two ships of which restitution is required, not only in regard to them but of things of value belonging to the Nawab. That this perwannah probably may be sent to stop the clamours of the Armenians for it is thought upon the present exigency of affairs that the Nabob will not pursue violent measures, but that he may be kept in temper upon pretty easy terms, at least till a more favourable opportunity offers. That he has heard of a fine Arab Horse that is to be disposed of in Calcutta, which it is believed will be very acceptable to him. That they have pressing demands made on them for an annual present of 3,600 siccas to Hodjee (Haji Ahmed) 59 that used to be given him on account of the sugar Aurungs, which though it does not concern the Company must be complied with before they expect a currency to business." 60 In reply to his letter, the authorities in Calcutta informed him that they would support his plan of keeping the Nawab easy if it could be done on reasonable terms, and sent

⁵⁸ "A strick-bearer. A frequent attendant of Indian nobles, and in former days of Anglo-Indian officials of rank."—Hobson-Jobson, p. 157,

⁵⁹ The Nawab's brother.

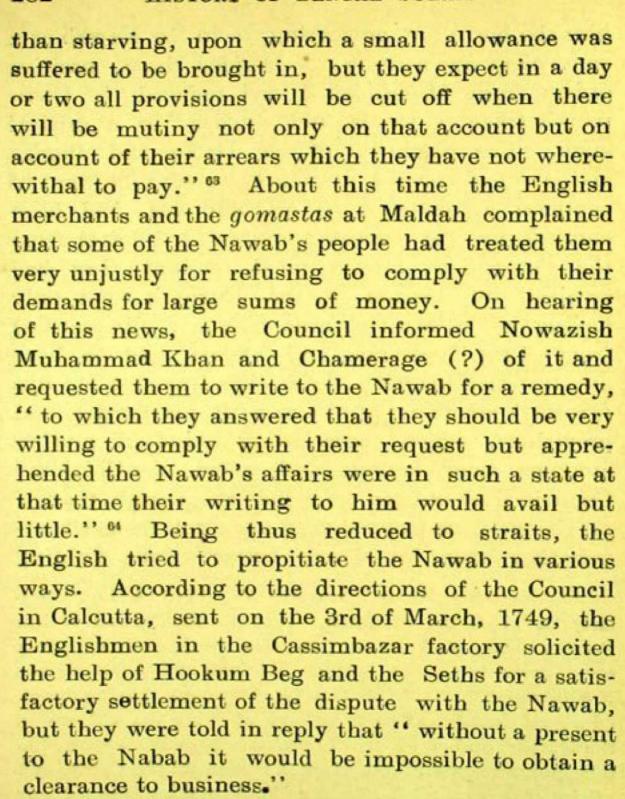
⁶⁰ Consultations, January 9, 1749 A. D.



him the horse for presenting it to the Nawab at a convenient opportunity. 61 Besides these, positive orders from Murshidabad had reduced the Company's trade at Dacca and Jugdea 62 to a critical state. The condition of the Dacca and Jugdea civilians had become extremely woeful for want of common subsistence, as all supplies had been stopped by the Nawab's officers. A letter from the Council of Dacca stated, "That they had received information of the Durbar's, not only having taken Mutchullacas (written agreements) from all the Tradesmen and Podars, not to have any transactions with them, but from the Moodys (grocers) not to supply them with necessaries and provisions, which occasioning a kind of mutiny amongst their soldiers and peons, the Chief and Council was obliged to send a message, that if provisions were stopped they must get them whereever they could, for it was better to die fighting

Letter to Court, January 27, 1748 A. D. Similarly in 1754, the Company sent to the Nawab a fine Persian horse and some fine wax work and also gave some presents to the faujdar of Hugli and to his dewan Nandakumar. Cf. "The Hon'ble Company having directed a good understanding to be kept up with the officers of the Durbar, and as we are of opinion a present bestowed at this juncture would be of great service to the Company's affairs in preventing the Durbar from making use of any frivolous pretence for a stoppage of our business." Consultations, December 20, 1754 A. D.

⁶² Letter to Court, February 11, 1748 A. D.



⁶³ Consultations, January, 23, 1749 A. D.

⁶⁴ Consultations, May 2, 1748 A. D.



Carooly Beg came to the Cassimbazar factory and told the Englishmen there that "the Nawab expected they would satisfy the Armenians without further delay and for the present has ordered two hundred Buxeries 65 to be quartered on that Factory, that he himself was come as a mediator between them and the Armenians, and would do them all the good offices in his powers." 66 The authorities in Calcutta wrote to Mr. Wadham Brooke, Chief of the Cassimbazar factory, to "find out the Nabab's views and ends in endeavouring thus to the distress of the Company's affairs, " and also to ascertain what would satisfy him. 67 The Chief replied on the 24th of April, 1749, that according to the advice of Carooly Beg, he desired that the authorities in Calcutta should procure a paper signed by the Armenians who resided there, by way of an address from them to the Nawab, expressing therein their satisfaction at what they (the English) had done. 68 He also informed them that the general opinion of the Nawab's distressing the Company's affairs was that he wanted a sum of money from each party

The buxeries were matchlockmen, who were employed on duties similar to those performed by the barkan-dazes of a later period.

⁶⁶ Letter to Court, 10th August, 1749.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Consultations, 4th May, 1749; Letter to Court, 10th August, 1749.



and that it was thought some time ago that about 50,000 rupees would compose matters; but he declared his opinion that, before they could come to know with certainty what he wanted, offers must be first made from their side. 69 Accordingly, the Council in Calcutta ordered its Secretary "to draw up a paper for the Armenians to sign when translated into Persian," and informed the Chief at Cassimbazar that it would be forwarded to him as soon as the Armenians had signed thereto. 70 The Armenians were asked to sign the address to the Nawab, as drawn by the Company's Secretary, when they attended the Council on 1st June, 1749, but they declared their unwillingness to do so. 71 The Council then informed Mr. Wadham Brooke

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Letter to Court, 10th August, 1749.

Armenians refused to sign the address, and thus destroyed all hopes of accommodating the matter with the Nawab, the President asked the opinion of the Council as to how they should proceed with them. The majority decided to inform the Armenians that if the English were compelled to pay any sum to the Nawab and the Armenians refused to repay the same, then they would be expelled from Calcutta after the expiry of two months. The Armenians were accordingly called in and acquainted therewith. Mr. William Kempe, however, expressed his opinion that "the staying (of) two months may impede the Company's business, so far as to prevent our getting a tonnage for the shipping; therefore they ought to be forced to satisfy the Nabab immediately."



about the refusal of the Armenians, and also about their (the English) writing to Mr. Kelsall at Balasore, for endeavouring to procure from the Nawab (who was then at Balasore in pursuit of the Marathas) a clearance to their business. Mr. Wadham Brooke was further directed to use his best endeavours "to procure such a clearance either through the Nabob's favour, or else on easy terms," and for that purpose, he was permitted to offer as much as 15,000 or 20,000 rupees.72 But he replied on 14th June that he had applied to the Seths and Biramdutt (Biru Dutt), who had told him that nothing could be done before the Nawab's return to Murshidabad. He also expressed the opinion that 15,000 or 20,000 rupees would be insufficient (if the Nawab should favour them so far as to take nothing for himself) for the forces put over them, and hence requested that he might know the utmost extent of what the Company was ready to pay the Nawab in order "to expedite this business as soon as possible upon the Nawab's arrival." 73

In the meanwhile, Mr. Kelsall had approached the Nawab at Balasore on the 9th of June and had handed over to him the President's letter,74

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Consultations, 19th June, 1749. Letter to Court, dated 10th August, 1749.

⁷⁴ The President's letter to the Nawab :-

[&]quot;The bad consequences attending our Company's affair



using every possible argument to convince him 'how prejudicial this stoppage of business would be to his revenues as well as (to) the Company.' The Nawab at last assured him that he would befriend the English on his return to Murshidabad and desired him to 'transport his (the Nawab's) ammunition and cannon to Calcutta with the greatest expedition, the roads being so bad, he could not carry them with him.' 75

are from the unjust complaints of the Armenians and others to your Excellency, is beyond expression. To add still more to our misfortune, the hardships we suffer from the forces on our Cassimbazar Factory, is without precedent, distressing us in our credit as well as in every other manner the most disobliging, by which it appears the complainants act rather as open enemies to our country than humble petitioners for justice with your Excellency, they well knowing the Company are not aggressors; nor was it in our power to prevent the accidents that have happened which I have before taken the liberty to remonstrate to your Excellency that had they been in any manner concerned therein, I would have taken care. You should not have been troubled with any complaints, but should have complied with whatever had been agreeable to your Excellency's justice. As the case now is we have very particularly advised our Company thereof, and the great favour you are pleased to show these people. But it requires a length of time before we can have an answer : humbly request your Excellency will permit the Company's affairs to go on in the usual manner without any further molestation." Consultations, 6th July, 1749.

75 Consultations, 19th June, 1749 AD.; Letter to Court, dated 10th August, 1749.



After the Nawab's return to Murshidabad on 7th August, 1749, the Chief of the Cassimbazar factory sent 'vakils' (representatives) to wait on him. He asked the 'vakils' if they had procured the "Raudjee-Nomma," i.e., the deed of agreement, from the Armenians in Calcutta. They replied in the negative with the remark that the Armenians did not make any such declaration for fear of being obliged thereby to pay the choute (?).76 The Nawab remarked that "he would give them a 'mutchlaca' (a written obligation or bond) under his own hand not to take a rupee from them and asked them if Mr. Kelsall was arrived aggreable to a promise made him when at Balasore and spoke much in that gentleman's commendation." 77 This attitude of the Nawab led the Chief of the Cassimbazar factory to think that Mr. Kelsall would be the most 'acceptable' and proper person to finish the matter, and so, on the 10th of August, he wrote to the authorities in Calcutta to send him immediately to the Nawab. The authorities thus promptly sent Mr. Kelsall to the Nawab's darbar. 78 He was warmly received there, and availed

⁷⁶ It is not clear what is referred to by this word "choute"; perhaps the frequent incursions of the Marathas had familiarised the people with this term and it was loosely used for any kind of contribution.

⁷⁷ Letter to Court, dated 10th August, 1749.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

himself of that opportunity to present a petition to the Nawab, setting forth in the strongest terms possible, "the Company's great sufferings since the business was first stopped, and the little foundation the Armenians had for this complaint, wherewith the Company had nothing to do." 70 But this did not produce the desired effect; for after perusing it, the Nawab replied that the Armenians must be satisfied. 80 The gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory then proceeded to Hookum Beg and Carooly Beg, who really controlled the whole matter, and by agreeing to offer 15,000 or 20,000 rupees to the Nawab, they requested them to settle it favourably for the Company's business.81 But these two men, being of an extremely mercenary temper and intending to squeeze out some money for themselves, also rejected their (the gentlemen in the Cassimbazar factory) offer "as being far short of what the Nawab would expect." Matters became day by day too serious to be long deferred, as the English at Cassimbazar were informed that the Nawab would shortly increase the number of forces placed over their factory if his demands were not speedily satisfied.82 They wrote to the Council in Calcutta on 11th September, 1749, that after Mr. Eyles' (who had

Consultations, 31st August, 1749.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

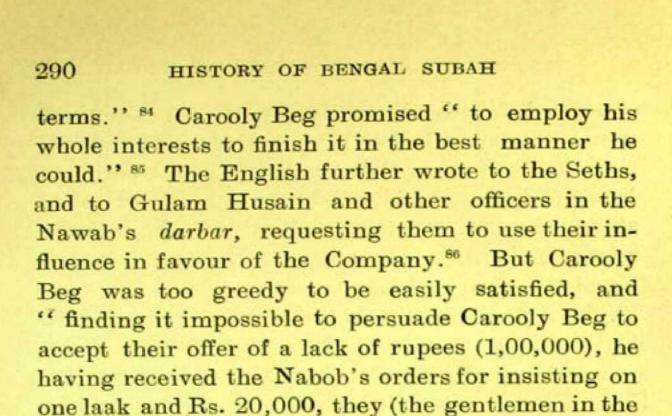
Ibid.



succeeded Mr. Wadham Brooke as the Chief of the Cassimbazar factory) arrival at Murshidabad they were informed that "nothing less than four lacks of rupees would satisfy the Nawab for what the Armenians, etc., had suffered by the capture of the two ships; but on giving Hookem Beg and Crooley Beg to understand no great sum on such unjust a pretence would ever be complied with and standing it out with them they have reduced to two lakhs which Hookem Beg tell them the Nawab will certainly insist on. But notwithstanding this they still believe that by standing out longer it may in time be brought down to one laak (lac), besides 25 (25,000) or 30,000 rupees to Hookem Beg and officers, and lower than this they think it will be hardly possible to reduce it without undergoing the disadvantages of losing the whole season." 83

The Nawab sent Carooly Beg to the Cassimbazar factory to sound the intentions of the English "with regard to making up the present dispute." The English complained, as before, of the injustice of the Armenians' demands, and expressed their inability to pay enormous sums to the Nawab. But they promised to reward the services of Hookum Beg and Carooly Beg, if they represented "the case favourably to the Nawab and use their interest to make it up on easy

⁸³ Consultations, 12th September, 1749.



Cassimbazar factory) agreed to pay the same on

Carooley Beg's promising to procure them the

Perwannahs as soon as the Dusserah 87 was over

but the Nawab being confined to his room by

sickness prevented Carooley Beg's gaining access

to him." 88 Apprehending that any further delay

might greatly add to the distress of the Company's

trade in Bengal, the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar

factory sent their vakils to Hookum Beg and

Carooly Beg to enquire if the Nawab's order could

not be obtained by writing to him that they had

88 Consultations, 18th October, 1749.

⁸⁴ Consultations, 18th September, 1749.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Bengal in the month of October. We have descriptions of this festival in several contemporary accounts, e.g., in Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇa, in Voyage of Harmich to India in 1745-49, Bengal: Past and Present, April-June, 1933.



consented to comply with his demand. But those two men replied that "as the complaints of the Armenians made great noise at Muxadavad, the Nabob first of all required them to appear before all the Durbar whilst he was present and publicly acknowledge themselves to be satisfied for their losses......" 89

After his recovery, the Nawab held a darbar in

Satisfaction of the Armenians; the Nawab pacified and currency to English trade gained at great costs.

the night of 15th October, 1749, when the leading Armenians were present and expressed their satisfaction regarding their

losses caused by the English. The Nawab then gave orders publicly for a currency to the Company's business, and for removing the forces from their factory. But when the darbar was over Hookum Beg gave the English to understand that 'before these orders could be executed, the Rs. 1,20,000 must be paid on security given for it...' This caused a new difficulty for the English, for they had been already suffering from great pecuniary wants; the Seths had adopted a strong attitude and had expressed their un-

Pecuniary troubles of the Company.

willingness to lend any further amount to the Company. After earnest requests they were able

⁸⁹ Consultations, 18th October, 1749.

⁹⁰ Consultations, 20th October, 1749.

⁹¹ Ibid.

to secure one lac and fifty thousand rupees 92 from them in order to satisfy the Nawab.93

In the year 1751 a new danger threatened the English trade in the Hugli river. In that year two Englishmen, Messrs. Acton and Mills, under the protection of the Germans, appeared between Chandernagore and Hugli, with three ships of war hoisting German colours. This gave a great offence to the Nawab, who immediately wrote to Mr. Dawson, the President of the Council in Calcutta, asking him to take precautionary measures and to drive out those German ships of war. Mr. Dawson replied on 19th August, 1751:-" I have given orders to the pilots not to take charge of any of the Alleman ships or show them the way on any account, and do not doubt but that the Dutch and French have done the same. God forbid that they should come this way, but should this be the case, I am in hopes that through your uprightness they will be either sunk, broke or destroyed." By the year 1752 the

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Cf. "The Presidency of Calcutta not complying with his (the Nawab's) demands on the first summons, he more than once stopped their trade; however, all they paid from his accession did not exceed 100,000 pounds sterling; which on an average was not two in a hundred on the amount of their investments to the end of the war." Orme's Indostan, Vol. II, p. 46. For further details on this point vide the chapter on "English Factories and Investments."

⁹⁴ Consultations, August 19, 1751 A.D.



Nawab became wholly pacified with the English traders and issued a parawanah in favour of English trade.

The Nawab's parative and issued a parawanah in favour of their trade on 8th October, 1752.

The Maratha invasions of Bengal obstructed the Company's trade for a few years. Mr. Orme says, "The Marattoes during the war made only one considerable depredation on the English trade. This was in the year 1748, when they stopped a fleet of boats coming from Cassimbazar to Calcutta, and plundered it of 300 bales of raw silk belonging

(b) Influence of Maratha invasions and (c) the Afghan rebellions. to the Company. But the advantages of the European commerce in general were much impaired by the distress of the

province, which enhanced the prices and debased the fabrics of all kinds of manufactures." 96 His

95 "Of all merchants of the greatest and the picture of friendship, Mr. Drake, Governor of the English Company, whom God preserve.

By the favour of the Almighty the bright eyes and soul of Nabab Munsoor Am Mullick, Bahaudur, arrived at Muxadavad on the 24th Secandar Son Paunch; your friendship, praises, presents, and going to meet him, he has told me a great deal about so much that I cannot express it. I am extremely pleased and delighted with you and a thousand times remain sensible of it, and in return by the grace of God the Company's business, I will be very favourable to." Consultations, October 11, 1752 A.D.

96 Orme, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 46.

statement is fully corroborated by contemporary records of the Company, as has been already written. The influence of the Afghan rebellions has also been pointed out there.

The Company had to suffer occasional disturbances at the hands of this or Obstructions that native Zamindar. In 1741, from the Zamindars. Mr. Henry Campion, while coming from Bencoolen on 'Princess Augusta' with two Europeans and some 'lascars,' went on shore for water and provisions. The Raja of Conica (Kanika) detained them and demanded 2,000 rupees, a piece of scarlet cloth, and a gold watch for their release; and the Company had to satisfy his demand for releasing its own men.98 In 1745 the Company's merchants at Maldah complained that the "Troubles and extortions of Government ruined numbers of weavers, (and) provisions (became) excessive dear;" and they prayed for advance payments.99 In 1748 some merchants of the Company had "goods coming down on their Dadney contracts which were stopped at Hajiruhattee (?) by Rajah Aunoopanian (?) one body whereof was stolen and that the Zemindar suspected of the action is gone to Muxadavad," and

⁹⁷ In the chapter on "English Factories and Investments."

⁹⁸ Letter to Court, dated 11th January, 1742, para. 189.

⁹⁹ Letter to Court, dated 11th August, 1745.



again in the same year, the Pultah (Fultah) Zamindar stopped several boats with English dastaks and realised money from the merchants.100 In 1754 Rajballabh, on becoming the Deputy Nawab of Dacca, peremptorily demanded the usual visit from the Dacca Factors. The French having compounded it for Rs. 4,300, the English also thought it prudent to do the same rather than prejudicing their trade. Just the next year, he sent orders to Bakarganj to stop all boats that might pass that way, upon which the Dacca Factors immediately despatched a light boat with orders to all the Company's boats to proceed by the way of Tantalea.101 But fearing that the boat might not overtake them and also that there might likewise be people sent to Tantalea, they sent an express letter to the Council in Calcutta soliciting its protection. 102 The Council decided to "despatch Lieutenant John Harding on a command of soldiers of 25 Buxaries (recruited from Buxar) in order to clear these boats if stopped in their way to Dacca and to take them under his protection." Several rice boats, belonging to the Company, were also stopped at Dacca, and this occasioned a great scarcity and dearness of rice

¹⁰⁰ Consultations, April, 1748 A. D. For other details on this point vide the chapter on English Factories and Investments.

¹⁰¹ Letter to Court, 1st March, 1745.

¹⁰² Consultations, February 12, 1755 A. D.



in that place.103 In 1755 Raja Tilakchand of Burdwan, 104 stopped the Company's business within his jurisdiction by putting chowkis upon all the Company's factories there and imprisoning the Company's gomastas. The Council regarded this as an extremely insolent and unwarrantable step and decided that the President should "prepare an address to the Nawab, and send up a chubdar immediately with it, complaining of the Rajah's insolence and unwarranted proceedings in stopping the Honourable Company's business transacted in his Provinces and seizing their effects, and that he insisted upon a proper reprimand being sent to the Rajah and the usual currency given to our affairs at the Aurungs situated in his jurisdiction." This representation to the Nawab proved effective, as he immediately ordered the Burdwan Raja to remove all

Ramjiban Kaviraj, a gomasta of the Burdwan Raja, owed Rs. 6,357 to Mr. John Wood. The latter, failing to secure the payment of the amount, laid a complaint against Ramjiban in the Mayor's Court, and having obtained a warrant of sequestration against him, he sealed up the Raja's house and effects in Calcutta. This gave a great offence to the Raja, who immediately ordered the stoppage of Company's trade within his dominions by imprisoning their gomastas and putting chowkis upon their factories. Consultations, April 1, 1755 A. Da

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ The cause of the misunderstanding was this:-

¹⁰⁵ Ibids



restraints upon the Company's trade. In 1757 some Zamindars near Maldah and Sunamukhi ill-treated the Company's gomastas and peons there, and the Rajah of Bishnupur (in Bankura District) severely exacted the usual duties from the English. The Council wrote to Mr. Scrafton, the Company's Resident at Murshidabad, directing him to represent the complaints at the Nawab's darbar and to insist on those Zamindars being punished in an exemplary manner. 107

106 The Nawab's letter to the Burdwan Raja:-

"I received an Arassdoss from the English Governor in which he acquaints me that the Gomastha Ramjiban Kaviraj being indebted to an Englishman, they had set peons upon your house agreeable to their custom, for which reasons you have put chowkis upon all the Company's Factories within your districts and stopped their business, imprisoning their Gomasthas. This manner of acting is contrary to your interest and very wrong, as it is by no means allowable that a Zemindar should take such a step without an order first had from me. The English are foreigners and have settled in our country on a dependence of our protection in their Trade; and if they are treated in this manner, the consequence will be their withdrawing themselves and their trade, on which account I positively direct that on the immediate receipt of this Perwannah you remove the chowkis you have put on their factories, and let their business have the usual currency without any further trouble." Consultations, May 5, 1755 A. D.

107 Proceedings, November 3, 1757 A. D.

Retaliatory measures were not lacking on the part of the Company's people Retaliatory measures also. About August 1746, the adopted by the Company's people. man in charge of the chowkis at Rangasoula 108 "growing very troublesome, stopping sloops and boats," the Council in Calcutta ordered an officer and twenty men to proceed down thither, to remove his chowkis and bring him up as a prisoner. On 28th September, the officer returned with his party from Rangasoula and informed the members of the Council that "on his arrival there the Jemindar (Zamindar) fired upon him upon which he landed his men and burnt the 'chowkey.' The Jemindar made his escape into the woods and sent him an Assurance (that he) would never stop any more boats with English colours." The officer cleared up and brought with him all the boats that had been stopped there.109 In the same month, one Dulputray, an officer belonging to Mir Jafar, stopped some boats, bearing the Company's dastaks at Hugli. When the Company's vakils complained about it to the Naib Faujdar of Hughli, he declared that he had no hand in the matter and had no command over that officer. Dulputray carried these boats to Cutdalpara (?) where he wanted to divide the

¹⁰⁸ There are four places of this name; it is not certain which of these is referred to here.

¹⁰⁹ Letter to Court, dated 22nd February, 1747, para. 104.



goods among his own men. Upon this the members of the Council in Calcutta thought it necessary to recover these boats by force, and accordingly agreed to send Captain Robert Hamilton with a party of military for that purpose, and kept two country boats in readiness for future emergencies. Captain Robert was ordered to proceed up the river and to clear all boats (with the Company's dastaks) that had been stopped "by fair means if any possible (or) otherwise to use his utmost force and when he had cleared the Boats to send these bound downwards hither with a party of soldiers and himself with the remaining men under his command to proceed to Nuddea " to await there the arrival of some boats of the Company from Cassimbazar, 110

There are some instances which show that
the Company tried to assert a
superior right in the field of trade.

the Company tried to assert a
superior right over others in
matters of trade in Bengal, and
also sometimes adopted discipli-

nary measures against the defaulting merchants. In 1750-51 the Council in Calcutta strictly warned the 'Blacks' (native merchants) residing there, against the practice of dealing with the French for goods suitable for the European

¹¹⁰ Ibid, para. 105.

¹¹¹ Vide chapter on "English Factories and Invest-



market.112 In the same year, when the Nawab demanded of President Dawson the surrender of a native merchant in Calcutta named Ramkissen Seth, who had carried goods to Calcutta without paying the Murshidabad Syre 113 Chowkey duties, the President replied that Ramkissen's father and grandfather were the Company's dadni merchants, and that he himself being a debtor of the Company's could not be surrendered without much loss to them. 114 In accordance with the orders of the Court of Directors, the Council in Calcutta acquainted the Armenians in 1751 A. D. that they must pay consulage on their exports equally with the covenanted servants, and affixed public orders at the gates of the fort, forbidding all persons living within the limits of the Company's jurisdiction to export any goods from Calcutta without a permit from the consulage Collector. 115 The Company's servants regarded a free merchant

¹¹² Letter to Court, 4th February, 1757, para. 52.

¹¹³ During the 18th century the term Syre or Sayer "was applied to a variety of inland imposts, but especially to local and arbitrary charges levied by Zemindars and other individuals with a show of authority, on all goods passing through their estates by land or water or sold at markets (bazars, hauts, and gaunges) established by them." Hobson-Jobson, p. 604.

¹¹⁴ Consultations, May 30, 1751 A. D. The Governor's letter to Allahvardi, dated the 30th of May, 1751, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

¹¹⁵ Letter to Court, August 20, 1751 A. D.



as an eyesore, as he generally interfered with their profits in trade. In 1753 John Wood, a free merchant, applied for a pass on the ground that without it he would be reduced to "the condition of a foreigner, or indeed of the meanest black fellow." 117 This was too much for the Company's Council in Calcutta to bear. The members of the Council strongly protested against it in their letter to the Court of Directors, January 15, 1753 A.D.:-" We beg to represent to your Honours the great prejudice such a liberty would be to the place in general, for if it be permitted, a free merchant by lending his name without any capital of his own and by the assistance and concern of the natives, he may always set voyages on foot of utter destruction of the trade of his settlement in general, and a certain injury to every gentleman in the service."

The Company's servants practised gross anomalies in the use of dastaks which were utilised by them frequently in their private trade and were even sold to the black traders, to the great prejudice of the revenues of the Nawab's state. Properties of the native merchants were very often taken from

¹¹⁶ Long's Selections from the unpublished Records, Vol. I, Introduction, p. xxv.

remarked on it: "the foreign trade of the settlement is become much too general."



one place to another, free of duties, with passes obtained under English names. In order to prevent this the Company ordered in 1752 that "the real proprietors of goods should be stated." "118 The European rivals (the Dutch and the French) of the English were also sometimes supplied with goods by the servants of the English Company for their personal gains and these goods passed free of duties under dastaks of the latter. 119 We learn from the Court's Letter, January 31, 1755, that many of the Company's servants made private gains from the Company's investments, for which the Directors asked the Council in Calcutta that "their (servants') future conduct should be well looked after and a scrutiny made into their past management." They further remarked :- "you must use all prudent measures by applications to the Darbar and other ways to get relieved from the impositions of the chokeys planted up and down the country represented to us in your letter of the 4th January, but at the same time you must be extremely careful to prevent all abuses of the Dusticks, that the Government may have no pretences to interrupt the trade on that account, which we are afraid they have sometimes too much reason for." 120 David Rannie has given

¹¹⁸ Consultations, October 9, 1752 A.D.

¹¹⁹ Court's Letter, dated the 31st of January, 1755 A.D., para. 56.

¹²⁰ Ibid, para. 65.



true picture of the anomalous situation, which this abuse of dastaks created, in the following words:-" The injustice to the Moors consisted in that being by their courtesy permitted to live here as merchants, to protect and judge what natives were their servants and to trade custom-free, we under that pretence protected all the Nabab's subjects that claimed our protection, though they were neither our servants nor our merchants, and gave our dustucks or passes to numbers of natives to trade custom free, to the great prejudice of the Nawab's revenue, nay more, we levied large duties upon goods brought into our districts from the very people that permitted us to trade custom-free, and by numbers of their impositions (framed to raise the Company's revenue) some of which were ruinous to ourselves such as taxes on marriages, provisions, transferring land property and caused eternal clamour and complaints against us at Court." 121

The abuses in the field of internal commerce of Bengal did not escape the attention of Siraj-ud-dowla, who complained "that the British had abused the privileges of trade granted them by their firman." But Plassey soon decided his fate, and the disorders and weakness of the central authority

¹²¹ Causes of the loss of Calcutta, by David Rannie, Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 384.

that followed the battle of Plassey, allowed these abuses to grow from day to day. The moral effect of the victory of Plassey was very great; it

Effects of Plassey
—growth of trade
abuses.

filled the minds of the Company's servants in Bengal with a strong desire for further aggrandisement in the field of wealth and supremacy

in the field of politics. By the general sannad issued by Mir Jafar on 15th July, 1757, he confirmed the privileges of the Company in definite and emphatic terms and passed strict orders against hampering English trade in any way. Of course, technically speaking "with regard to trade no new privileges were asked of Mir Jafar none indeed were wanted by the Company who were contended with the terms granted them in 1716," 122 but there is no doubt that the victory greatly increased the prestige and influence of the Company. No sooner had this influence been felt than "many innovations were practised by some of the Company's servants, or the people employed under their authority." 123 They began to trade in articles which were before prohibited and they claimed also exemption from duties not only on exports and imports but on all articles in their private trade. Orme has very aptly written:-".....but as it is the

¹²² Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 24.
123 Ibid.



nature of man to err with great changes of fortune, many, not content with the undisputed advantages accruing from the revolution, immediately began to trade in salt and other articles which had hitherto been prohibited to all Europeans; and Meer Jaffer complained of those encroachments within a month after his accession; which although checked for the present, were afterwards renewed, and at last produced much more mischief than even disinterested sagacity could have foreseen." 124 Bolts has remarked :- "after these the Gomasthas so well availed themselves of this new acquired power, that after the Company by their substitutes, had made their first Nawob Jaffer Ali Khan, in the year 1757, their black gomasthas in every district assumed a jurisdiction which even the authority of the Rajahs and Zemindars in the country durst not withstand." 125 In July 1758, Mr. Scrafton State of affairs after Mir Jafar's accession. wrote from Moradbag to P. R. Pearkes at Dacca: "There is likewise a complaint lodged against an English Gomastha at Chilmaree, that he gives protection to numbers of merchants who trade there which has proved a loss to the Government of seventy thousand rupees. Also (there have been) several cases of under protection to the Zemindars, Tenants and

¹²⁴ Orme's Indostan, Vol. II, p. 189.

¹²⁵ Considerations on Indian Affairs, p. 191.



others." ¹²⁶ The gomastas were also very often guilty of frauds and made private gains in the Company's investments, e.g., Kussenundah (Kusananda), a gomasta of the Company's at Cassimbazar, had been found guilty of several frauds in the management of the Company's investments; he had been detected in giving false accounts for the year 1756 by overcharging Rs. 8,427 in the real cost of goods provided by him. ¹²⁷

With a view to check the abuse of dastaks by the servants, the Company established a number of "Dustuck Peons with badges carrying a Persian inscription, signifying their being the Company's servants." With every dastak one of those peons was sent, who was responsible for goods passing free of all duties and impositions; and after the delivery of the goods, the peon was ordered to return the dastak to the President of the Council in Calcutta to be cancelled by him, so that no further use might be made of it. For defraying these additional expenses the dastaks were valued at Rs. 5 each. 128 The Captains and officers of ships also carried on a large private trade to the great prejudice of the Nawab's as well as the Company's interests. In order to prevent this, the Company advertised that " no persons

¹²⁶ Original Papers relating to the disturbances in Bengal. 1759-64, Vol. I, p. 4.

¹²⁷ Letter to Court, December 31, 1758 A. D.

¹²⁸ Letter to Court, January 16, 1758 A. D.



residing in the settlement are to purchase woolen goods, copper, lead, or iron from the Commanders or

Regulations of the Company's ships, without permission from the without permission from the Import Ware-House Keeper for the time being, upon pain of losing the Company's protection and being expelled the settlement." 129

But these regulations were not effective in preventing the abuses, which had become so rampant and universal. On the 13th proved ineffective. of January, 1759, Mr. Hasting wrote the following from Moradbag to Mr. W. B. Summer, Chief at Dacca: "I have received a long letter from the Shahzada in which he complains that you have begun to carry on a large trade in salt, and betelnut, and refuse to pay the duties on those articles, which has likewise encouraged others to do the same in your name: which practice if continued will oblige him to throw up his post of Shahbunder Daroga ... - We have not, I believe, any right to trade in salt and betelnut; at least, it was never (that I know of) stipulated in our favour with the Nawab; and with respect to the salt trade, I myself know, that none of the Company's servants, not the Colonel himself has engaged in it without the Nawab's Perwannah." 180 An English gomasta named

¹²⁹ Letter to Court, February 27, 1758 A. D.

¹³⁰ Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 5; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, pp. 26-27.



Mr. Chevalier had carried a large cargo of salt to Chilmaree (Chilmary) and had taken 'muchlacas' (written bonds) from all the other traders in the same article by which they were not allowed to sell any salt till his own amount had been disposed of. Worse than this happened, when Mr. Chevalier openly defied the authority of the Wadadar of the Baharbund Paragana, and refused to explain the commission under which he acted, when the latter had demanded it of him. All these were communicated to the Nawab, who murmured greatly before Mr. Hastings,

¹³¹ Ibid, p. 28.

^{132 &}quot;One who is bound by an engagement, a contractor, a government officer, responsible for the collections of a Zamindari, a farmer of the revenue." Wilson's Glossary, p. 553.

ulla), Wadadar of the paragana Baharbund: — "The letter, which you sent to my writer, I have received. You write, that if I belong to the English, I must have the English Sunnud and desire a copy of it to be sent to you. In answer, I ask who are you, that I should send you a copy of the Sunnud? If you want to be informed who I am, and who sent me, send a man to the Chief who will answer you. If the people of your Pergunnuh are guilty of any insolence to mine, I shall chastise them handsomely for it. Forbid your people, that they enter into no quarrels with mine; if they do without reason they shall be punished; if my people behave ill to yours, do you write me word of it, and I will punish them." Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 7.



the Resident at Moradbag. So Mr Hastings again wrote to Mr. Sumner on the 26th of July, 1759, complaining against Mr. Chevalier's conduct:- " Many complaints have been laid before the Nawab against Mr. Chevalier, who is accused of having acted in a very violent and arbitrary manner at Chilmaree, and Coreegaum 134 by oppressing the merchants of those places in the monopoly of several commodities. particularly salt and tobacco, no one being allowed to buy or sell either of these articles but with his permission. A translation of a letter of the Wadadar of the Pergunah, under the seal of Mr. Chevalier in answer to the demand made by him, to know by what authority he came into those parts, I send you herewith on which I shall make only this remark, that the magistrates and public officers of the Government have an undoubted right to see the Company's dustuck having no other way to distinguish between the agents of the Company and others usurping the English name, nor the Company any means besides to secure their own privileges. It cannot, therefore, but appear strange in any person employed by the English that they should make any difficulty to show by what powers they are commissioned; unless they are conscious they are guilty of practices which ought to be concealed...... " 135

¹³⁴ Rennel's Curygong (Kurigram). 135 Original Papers, etc., pp. 6-7.



But all these complaints ended in smoke. Very

Growing political disorders led to thein-crease of trade abuses by the time of Mir Kasim's accession.

soon, the death of his son Miran and the mutiny of the soldiers made Mir Jafar's position extremely critical. Not to speak of

removing those grievances, which had been telling heavily on the resources of the native merchants as well as of the common people, it became absolutely impossible for him to tide over the dangers with which he was then confronted. Disorders prevailed all round, taking advantage of which the *gomastas* and servants of the Company went on increasing, day by day, the volume of their illegal trade.

Thus by the time of Mir Kasim's accession, these abuses reached the highest point of culpability. Many new factories were established in every part of the country, both on the Company's account, and by private gentlemen, and "a trade was carried on in all sorts of goods, such as it was never yet the custom to trade in." As Verelst has remarked:—"A trade was carried on without payment of duties, in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed. English agents and Gomasthas, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of Government, binding and punishing the Nabob's

¹³⁶ Mir Kasim's reply to the representations of the Board, Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 170-73; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 46-47.



officers wherever they presumed to interfere." 137 Mr. George Gray, Chief of the Maldah factory, committed oppressions by seizing and imprisoning the peskar of Hiramun, the Zamindar and Wadadar of Tajpur, and in sending sepoys and Europeans to purchase grain and erect new factories in every part of Purneah. A complaint was made to the Nawab against Mr. Gray by Mir Sher Ali, the Naib of Purneah. The Nawab sent a copy of this complaint to Mr. Ellis on 22nd January, 1762, desiring him thereby to redress Sher Ali's grievances. 138 Mr. Ellis replied on 4th February, 1762, to the effect "that Mr. Gray complained to Sheer Aly Cawn twice or thrice against the Zemindars but receiving no answer nor redress, he was under the necessity of taking such measures." 139 this time an officer of the Nawab's named Coja Antoon was punished for purchasing five maunds of saltpetre; he was imprisoned by Mr. Ellis who sent him to Calcutta for answering the charge against him. After a confinement for three months he was delivered over to the Nawab for further punishment. Another charge against him was that he had himself given a certificate of some goods having been duly passed in contempt of

¹³⁷ Verelst. View of Bengal, p. 48.

¹³⁸ Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 136-37.

¹³⁹ Ibid, pp. 137-38.



Company's dastak. 140 The behaviour of the Company's gomastas at Dacca and Luckipur had become extraordinarily insolent. 141 A party of sepoys

140 Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, pp. 302-304.

141 Sergeant Brego's Letter to the Governor in Calcutta, dated Bakerganj. 25th May, 1762:- "A gentleman sends a Gomasta here to buy or sell; he immediately looks on himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant either to buy his goods or sell him theirs; and on refusal (in case of non-capacity) a flogging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing; but a second force is made use of, which is to engross the different branches of trade to themselves and not to suffer any persons to buy or sell the articles they trade in, and if the country people do it, then a repetition of their authority is put in practice; and again what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is to take them for considerable deal less then another merchant, and often times refuse paying that, and my interfering occasions an immediate complaint This place is growing destitute of inhabitants, every day numbers leave the town to seek a residence more safe; and the very markets, which before afforded plenty, do hardly now produce anything of use, their peons being allowed to force poor people.

Before justice was given in the publick but now every Gomastha is become a judge, and everyone's house a cutcherry, they even pass sentences on the Jemiddars themselves and draw money from them for pretended injuries, such as a quarrel with some of their peons or their having as they assert stole something, which is more likely to have been taken by their own people; but allowing they were robbed, I believe no Gomastha's authority extends so far as to take his own satisfaction on the Government."



was sent to Silhet by the English gentleman of Dacca on account of some private dispute, "who fired upon and killed one of the principal people of the place, and afterwards made the Zemindar prisoner and forcibly carried him away." The Chief and Council at Dacca wrote at that time "in a towering indignation at the boats being stopped, and their trade and privileges interfered with by the Nawab's Agents, (and) they ordered up Sepahis from Chittagong." But the Calcutta Council replied: "it seems very probable from circumstances in Mr. Hastings' Minute, that the gentlemen's Gomasthas there have been the principal causes of these disturbances; there is reason to fear that Gomasthas and Agents have made use of very unwarrantable practices in their trade," 142 and it also countermanded the marching of the Sepoys from Chittagong. 143

Those agents and gomastas further practised a method of carrying on business called "barja"

¹⁴² Cf. "Can that plan be solid where nothing is fixed, and where the English Gomasthas shall be under no control, but regarding themselves far above the Magistrate of the country where they reside, take upon themselves to decide, not only their own disputes with the merchants and inhabitants, but those also of one merchant and inhabitant with another or is it possible that Government can collect their due revenues in such circumstances?" Proceedings, 1st February, 1763 A.D.

and 'kichaunt,' that is, forcing the merchants and shop-keepers to take their goods at 30, 40, or 50 per cent. above the market price.' 144 The

following letter of Muhammad Ali, Collector of Dacca, to the Company's Governor in Calcutta, contains a true picture of the evils of this

Description of trade abuses,—complaint of Muhammad Ali, Collector of Dacca. system:—"In the first place a number of merchants have made interest with the people of the factory, hoist English colours on their boats and carry away

English property, by which means the Shah-bunder and other customs are greatly determined. Secondly, the Gomasthas of Luckypoor and Dacca factories oblige the merchants, etc., to take tobacco, cotton, iron, and sundry other things, at a price exceeding that of the bazar, and then extort the money from them by force; besides which they take diet money for the peons and make them pay a fine for breaking their agreement. By these proceedings the Aurungs and other places are ruined. Thirdly, the Gomasthas of Luckypoor factory, have taken the talookdars' talooks (the farmer's farm) from the Tashildar by force for their own use; and will not pay the

¹⁴⁴ A letter from Governor Vansittart to Messrs. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts, dated Mongyr, December 15, 1762.

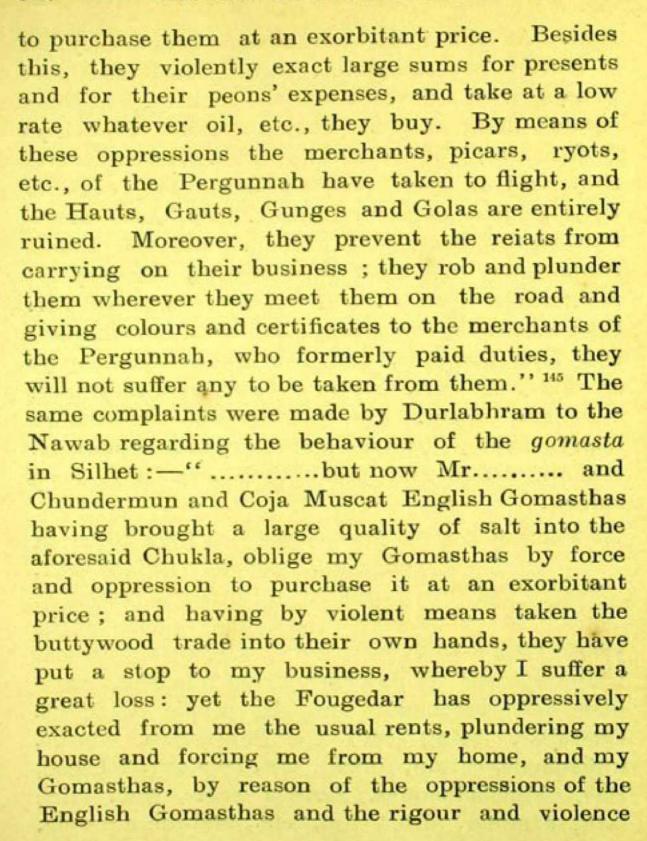


rent. At the instigation of some people they, on a matter of complaint, send Europeans and Sepoys with a dustuck into the country, and there create disturbances. They station Chowkeys (toll-houses) at different places, and whatever they find in poor people's houses they cause to be sold and take the money. By these disturbances the country is ruined, and the Reiats cannot stay in their own houses, nor pay the malguzaree (rents). In many places Chevalier has, by force, established new markets and new factories, and has made false Sepoys on his own part, and they seize whom they want and fine them. By his forcible proceedings many hauts, gauts, and perganas (markets, landing places and fiscal divisions), have been ruined."

Similar complaints poured in from different quarters. Sayyid Rajab Ali,

Similar complaints Zamindar of Burbezzo Paragana,

wrote about the middle of the year 1762:—" Now from Calcutta, Dacca,
Chilmary and Rungamatty, numbers of Englishmen and merchants and the people of Mons.
Chevalier, bring into the Pergunnah, copper, tothenague, cotton, tinkall, salt, betelnut, tobacco, rice, Muggadhooties, Seringa boats, lack, stick lack, dammer, dried fish, etc., and these people, assuming the name of the Company force the ryots, who never dealt in such commodities,



¹⁴⁵ Original Papers, Vol. II, pp. 201-02.

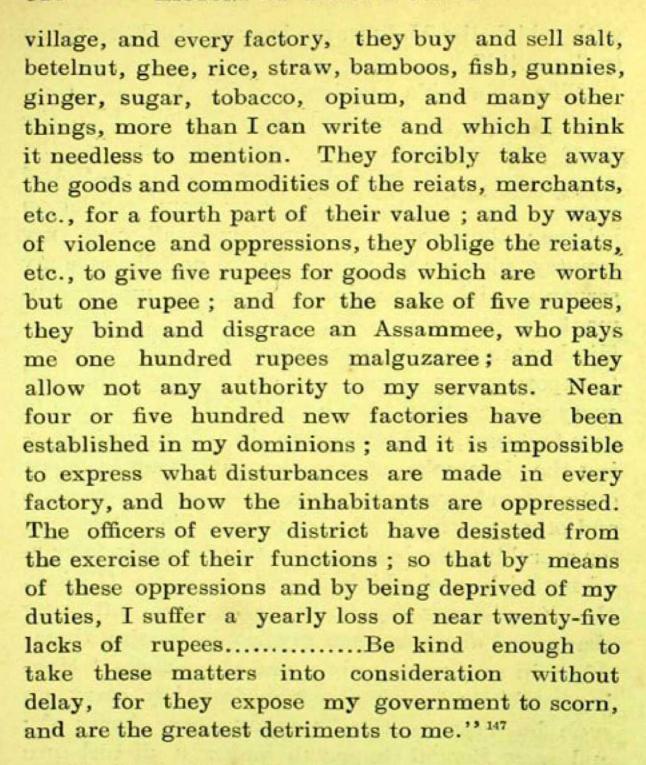


with which the Malguzaree is exacted, have taken to flight." 146

The Nawab's patience was at last tired out and he complained to the Company's Governor in the following strong terms:—"And this is the way your gentlemen

behave; they make a disturbance all over my country, plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants with a resolution to expose my government to contempt; and from the borders of Hindoostan to Calcutta, make it their business to expose me to scorn. In every Perganah, and every village, they have established ten or twenty new factories, and setting up the colors, and shewing the Dustucks of the Company they use their outmost endeavours to oppress the reiats, merchants and other people of the country. The Dustucks for searching the boats which you formerly favoured me with and which I sent to every Chokey, the Englishmen by no means regard, but bring shame and disgrace upon my people, holding themselves in readiness, to beat and abuse them. Having established these new factories, they carry on such business as the Company never heard of; and every Bengal Gomastah makes a disturbance at every factory, and thinks himself not inferior to the company. In every Perganah, every

¹⁴⁶ Translation of a Letter from Durlabhram to the Nawab, Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 203.



¹⁴⁷ Letter from the Nawab to the Governor, received, May, 1762 A.D. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 97-102. Compare with this the letter written by Mr. Hastings to the Governor, dated Bauglepoor (Bhagalpur), April 25, 1762 A.D. Ibid, pp. 79-84. Mr. Hastings

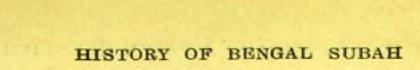


Sometimes the Nawab's officers also adopted retaliatory measures. On the Retaliatory mea-sures on the part of the Nawab's officers; 7th of October, 1762, Mr. Ellis wrote to the Governor and Council in Calcutta :- " at Ishanabad, the principal cloth Aurung, our Gomasthas, Dillols (dalals). etc., have been peremptorily ordered to desist from purchasing, and quit the place. Upon their non-compliance, they have been threatened. and abused in the most vile and gross terms and the washerman employed in whitening our cloths have been actually beat and peons put on them to prevent their going on in their business." 148 The gentlemen at Luckipur 149 and

pointed out in his letter the same evil practices of the Company's gomastas and servants.

and Council, dated 7th October, 1762, Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 207-08. The Nawab, however, wrote to the Governor that the washermen were not prevented from working for the Company: "You well know that the washermen pay no duties and that the Amils have no authority to interrupt them or prevent their washing or dressing their cloths. Was this affair really true, he (Mr. Ellis) would have informed Raja Nobit Roy of it and he would immediately have wrote to the Amil about it, but as it is altogether without foundation, he chooses to make a false complaint to you......". A letter from the Nawab to the Governor, dated Nov. 1, 1762 A.D.

149 Extract of a letter from the Gentlemen at Luckipur to the Governor and Council, dated 14th October, 1762. Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 209.



Chittagong 150 made similar complaints against the Nawab's people, and the Chief of the Dacca factory also wrote the following to the Governor: - "At every Chowkey our boats are stopped, the people insulted, and the flag used with the utmost and most gross contempt. Our advices, further adding that Mutchulcas have been taken from many inhabitants, prohibiting them on no account to have any connections with the English." 151 In December 1762 Messrs. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts wrote to Mir Sher Ali Khan, Faujdar of Purneah :- "Our Gomastha Ramcharan Das, being gone into those parts, meets with obstruction from you, in whatever business he undertakes; moreover you have published a prohibition to this effect that whoever shall have any dealing with the English, you will seize his house, and lay a fine upon him. We were surprised at hearing of this affair, because the Royal

¹⁵⁰ Extract of a letter from the Chief and Council of Chittagong to the Governor and Council, dated 14th October, 1762, Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 210-11.

Dacca to the Governor and Council in Calcutta, dated 8th October, 1762, Original Papers. Vol. I, pp. 210-11. The Council in Calcutta wrote to those gentlemen to be careful about their own gomastas (referring to the letter of Muhammad Ali) and not to use force without the Council's positive directions, as the President was himself going very soon. Consultations. 18th October and 1st November, 1762, Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 212-14.



Firmaun which the English nation is possessed of, is violated by this proceeding; but the English will by no means suffer with patience their Firmaun to be broke through. We therefore expect that, upon the receipt of this letter, you will take off the order you have given to the Ryots and in case of doing it, we will certainly write to the Nawab in the name of the English and send for such an order from him, that you shall restore, fully and entirely, whatever loss the English have sustained, or shall sustain by this obstruction; and that you shall repent having thus interrupted our business, in despite of the Royal Firmaun, after reading this letter, we are persuaded you will desist from interrupting it, will act agreeably to the rules of friendship, and so that your amity may appear and you will by no means stop the Company's Dustucks." 152

We should mark the imperious tone of this letter, which was highly condemned by the Court of Directors through their letter to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, February 8th, 1764. Vide ibid, p. 192. The Nawab of Purneah replied:—"I received your letter from Ramcharan Dass, in which you write that I obstruct your Gomastha in your trade, and have published by beat of drum that whoever deals with English Gomasthas shall be fined or punished, all which I duly observe. What I have to offer on this subject is, that the Gomasthas of English gentlemen did give and receive money at interest to the officers of the King's revenues in my districts, which, by deaths and people running away, caused great outstanding

By the beginning of the year 1763 Kaisoo Ray, Dewan of Usker (Asgar) Ali Khan, Zilladar of Rajsahi, imprisoned the servants of many of the Company's dependants there. In February

debts, and in consequence quarrels and disputes with my officers, by which the duties and revenues of my Phouzdarry have been quite impaired. That a stop might be put to these quarrels for the good of both your and our business, and that no one of my officers may take on credit from the factories of the English Gomasthas, but deal for ready money, agreeably to the order from the Nawab, I have taken Moochulcas, but am ready to assist the Gomasthas of English gentlemen in everything they desire of me." Proceedings, January 17, 1763 A.D.

Mr. Hastings was of opinion that these retaliatory measures of the Nawab's people were provoked by the evil practices of the Company's gomastas. His opinion was expressed in the following: -" As I have formerly lived amongst the country people in a very inferior station (a junior servant of the Company at the silk Aurungs) and at a time when we were subject to the most slavish dependence on the government; and have met with the greatest indulgence, and even respect, from the Zemindars and officers of the Government, I can, with the greater confidence, deny the justice of this opinion; and add further from repeated experience that if our people, instead of erecting themselves into lords and oppressors of the country, confine themselves to an honest and fair trade and submit themselves to the lawful authority of the government, they will be everywhere courted and respected." opinion in the Consultations of 1st March, 1763, Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 354-55.

153 Letter from the Governor to the Nawab, January 22, 1768 A. D.



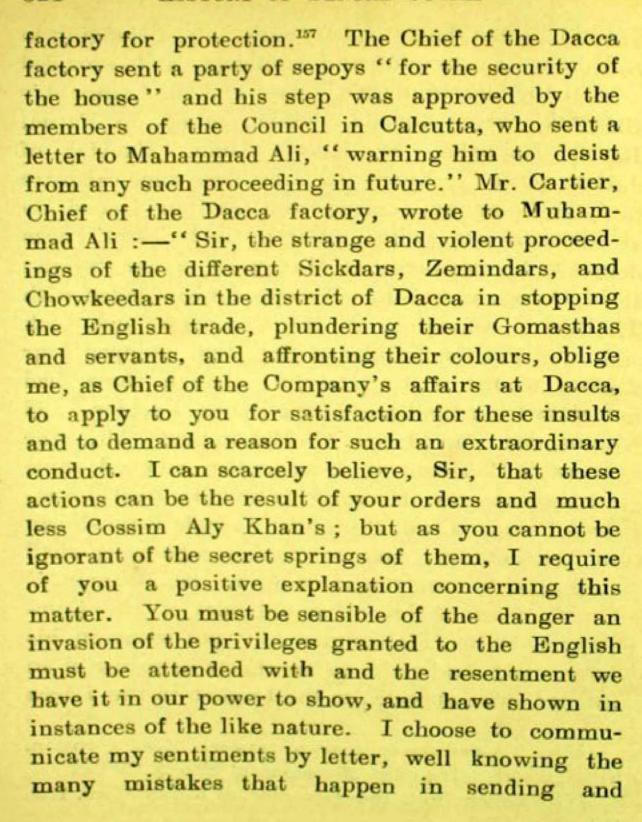
1763, some boats laden with salt, belonging to Messrs. Lushington and Amphlett, and provided with the bukshbunder's 154 pass and the Company's dastak were stopped, while going to Patna, near Rajmahal by Kutub Alum, Faujdar of that place.155 About the same time some saltpetre of the Company, coming from Gazipur loaded on bullocks, was pulled off from the bullocks' backs by the Nawab's amil at Maugy in sarkar Saran; the Daroga of Seisun (?) stopped a boat laden with saltpetre belonging to the Company and took it out; and the Faujdar of Rajmahal stopped four boats loaded with betel-nut, though these had dastaks from the Chief of the Dacca Factory, and demanded for duties.156 Mahammad Ali, the Nawab's Collector at Dacca, also adopted some strong measures. He wrote to Abdulla, amil of Sundeep Paragana, not "to suffer a single Englishman in the country, and to punish whosoever shall take upon himself the name of an Englishman." On the death of Nehool, an old dalal of the Company at Dacca, Mahammad Ali "put peons on his house and laid claim to his effects in wrong of an infant" who appealed to the English in the Dacca

155 Letter from the Governor to Kutub Alum, 10th

February, 1763.

^{154 &}quot;A harbour or custom master. Also a custom house, a port. The office of customs at Hoogly."

¹⁵⁶ Letter from the Governor to the Nawab, February 12, 1763.



¹⁵⁷ Proceedings, February 3, 1763 A. D.



answering messages, the sense of them very often being perverted." 158

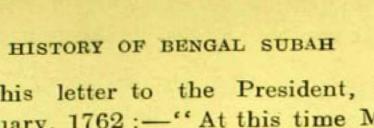
Sayyid Jalal Bokory, the Nawab's chowkidar at Shahbunder, demanded an additional duty of Rs. 3,250 from Mr. Senior, who had to pay the duty for obtaining a pass to carry on 4,000 maunds of salt into the Shahbunder. He stopped the boats at every ghat and taking an account of goods, demanded as much duty as he liked, and plundered the oarsmen and the helmsmen of all their effects. The amil of Rangpur demanded duties on cloth, silk and all kinds of goods, and imprisoned the dalals and pykers of the Company at Shengunge, in the district of Dinajpur. Ramnath Bhaduri, Naib of that place, set a guard of ten barkandazes 159 over each of the six English gomastas and took money from them under the pretence that they must contribute their share to remove the fakirs.160

It should be noted that before his conflict with the English Mir Kasim with the English Mir Kasim paid heed to certain cases of complaints before the final breach. complaints of the gomastas and servants of the Company. He

¹⁵⁸ Proceedings, 17th January 1763.

^{159 &}quot;A matchlockman, but commonly applied to a native of Hindustan, armed with a sword and shield, who acts as doorkeeper, watchman, guard or escort." Wilson's Glossary, p. 65.

¹⁶⁰ Letter from the Governor to the Nawab, March 7,



wrote in his letter to the President, received 10th February, 1762 :- "At this time Mr. Ellis, the Chief of Patna, writes, that the Purnea and other Faujdars molest the Company's business. I have therefore wrote expressly to the Purnea Faujdar, etc., not to interrupt the Company's trade, but always to assist them. I therefore wrote to the Bengal Faujdars and others not to impede the Company's business in any respect, and to advise you of anything that came before them. I am at great distance; therefore should anything happen write to the Faujdars and others, and they will act as shall most tend to benefit the Company's trade and the business of my Subaddarry." We also find that Turrut Sing, Amildar of Gungypore (Jangipur), being convicted of killing Mr. Gray's gomasta, was sentenced to hanging at the place where the violence had been committed, and Shijr Ali, the Faujdar, for "endevouring to screen him," and for other 'bad behaviour' towards the English gomasthas, "was dismissed from the Government of Purneah." 161

1763. These Fakirs or Sannyasis were often very turbulent in those parts of Bengal. Rennel in his Journals refers to a skirmish between his own men and some Sanngasis in Baar (near Bhutan).

Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 190-94. Cf. Another letter from the Governor and Mr. Hastings to the Council, dated



It is important to know how the President

How the Council in Calcutta and the Nawab of Bengal tried to arrive at some settlement; and the Council in Calcutta and the Nawab also tried to remove these disturbances and how far their measures and motives were

just and impartial. From March to June 1762, vigorous and lengthy debates took place in the Council on the subject of trade, the nature and extent of it, the powers of the English factors and the gomastas, and their right of using force in their own concerns. Variety of opinions prevailed but all felt that redress was urgently needed. At last, it was agreed that the Governor, attended by Mr.

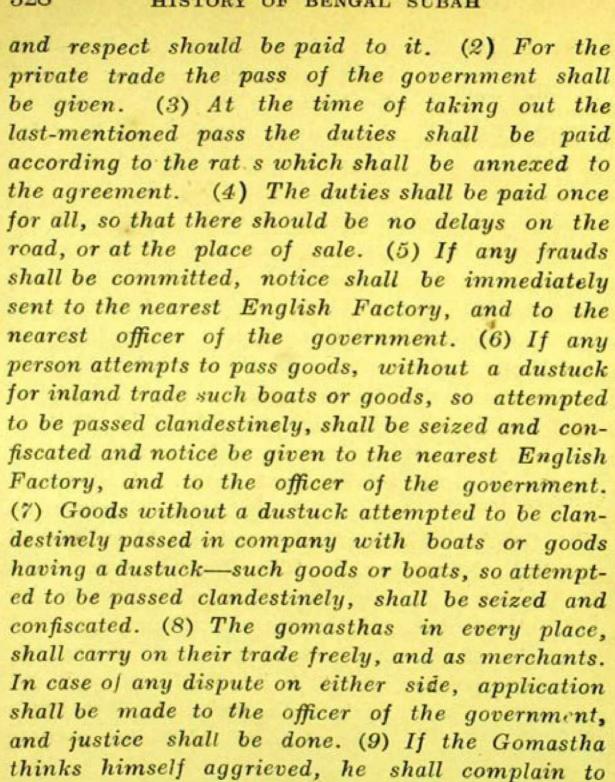
Mission of Vansittart and Hastings to the Nawab of Bengal;—their arrival at Mongyr;— Hastings, should pay a visit to the Nawab, and should regulate affairs with him. Accordingly they set out from Calcutta on

12th October, 1762, and arrived at Murshidabad on 3rd November. The Nawab was then at Mongyr, where the Governor arrived on 30th November. After certain discussions and enquiries of various kinds, they agreed upon the following points 163:—"(1) For the Company's impoints of their ports and exports, the Company's agreement with the hawab— dustuck (pass) shall be granted

Mongyr, December 15, 1762 A.D., Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 150-64.

162 Letter from the Governor to the Council, 19th November, 1762.

163 The plan of these regulations corresponds in a



great measure with that of 18th May, 1762. Vide a letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, May 18, 1762 A.D., Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 90-95.



his principal, and his principal according to custom shall appear to the Presidency, and redress shall be obtained."

The rates, mentioned in article three, were Rates fixed at 9 p.c. fixed at 9 p.c. on the prime cost at the places where the goods could be goods could be procured. It should be noted that these rates

were less than what had been paid by the English themselves in their private trade at Luckipur, 164 e.g., on salt Rs. 9-14-3 pies per 100 maunds, tobacco Rs. 0-4-0 per maund. 165 It was also much less than what had been usually paid by other merchants in their private trade. Moreover, by this arrangement "the inconvenience was avoided

diversity of payments which other merchants were subject

to." 166 Haji Mustafa, translator of the Seir-ul-

Mutakherin, has remarked:—

"The fact is, however, that in reality, and with the condition

¹⁶⁴ A letter from the Council to the Governor, dated 15th November, 1762, Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 217.

¹⁶⁵ A letter from the Gentlemen at Luckipur to the Council, dated 6th November, 1762. *Ibid*, p. 218.

^{166 &}quot;In my way down, I took an account from the agents of some Patna and Hugely merchants of what they had paid, and were liable to pay for the salt under their charge, by which you will perceive that the Sircary



in appearance submitted to by Vansittart, but in reality annexed thereto by the Governor, the English had a complete advantage over the natives. For whilst these were liable to that infinity of small duties and stoppages over the waters of Bengal (duties which independently of the stoppages, amounted altogether to full 25 p.c.) the English themselves were to pay 10 p.c. for once and all; and that duty, once paid, their boats were exempted from all further stoppages and searches; an exemption which cannot be rated at less than 13 p. c. more; so that whilst the Company's public trade remained free, boundless and sacred, the private trade of their servants, which to that day had never existed, was admitted as lawful under the single duty of 10 p.c., which 10 p.c. would, in time, become only nominal." 167

At the time of his departure Mr. Vansittart told the Nawab that he should pass orders on his officers directing them to act in accordance with those regulations, when the orders along with those of the President and with circular letters from the Council should be forwarded from

⁽government) duties only, without reckoning the Dustore taken at the several Chokeys amount by the lowest of the several information, to more than 25 rupees per 100 maunds." A letter from the Governor to the Council, dated 15th January, 1763. Ibid, pp. 239-40.

¹⁶⁷ Seir, Vol. II, p. 469.



Calcutta to the factories. He promised that he would try his level best to get the consent of the Council to these regulations. But the Nawab, "confiding in that kind of promise conceived the hopes of keeping up his pretensions for duties;

The Nawab hastily issued instructions to his officers,—

somuch so, that after some time had elapsed, he wrote to his officers everywhere to give them notice of the agreement he expect-

ed and to put them upon their guards; lest meanwhile and until the reglement should come up, the English private traders might find means to evade the custom and to escape duty free." But the customs officers and toll-men could not act in the right spirit of the instructions and were not able to "keep such a secret locked up in their breasts." In fact, oppositions and stoppages commenced in

beginning of conflicts. torn away at once

many places, and the "veil was torn away at once in two places at Azimabad, where Mr. Ellis,

Chief of the Factory, was highly incensed against the Nawab, and zealously attached to Mr. Amyatt, and at Jahangirnagar (Dacca) where Mr. Boston held a similar office. These two men equally incensed and equally impatient of restraint, and both unable to endure any more, sent a force, which seized the Nawab's officers and brought them prisoners to the English



factories, with intent to have them tried and punished by the Council of Calcutta, and to throw the blame of their conduct directly upon the Nawab and indirectly upon Vanistart." 169

At that critical moment, the members of the

The members of the Council in Calcutta guided by self-interest and feelings of personal rivalries; Council, with two or three exceptions, were guided mainly by considerations of self-interest and feelings of personal rivalries.

So they at once construed the arrangement between the Nawab and Mr. Vansittart to be an attack upon their privileges and threw out all sorts of invectives against both of them. 170 Major Garnac was desired to assist the Council so that he "might contribute his censure upon the President's regulations," and a resolution was taken to call down all the members of the Council from the subordinate factories to the Presidency.171 At the same time the subordinate English factories daily sent to the Council fresh complaints of the interruptions on their business with such exaggerations as served to widen the breach. It was urged that their weavers could not be protected because of the President's orders against protecting the dependants of the Nawab's

¹⁶⁹ Seir, Vol. II, pp. 445-46; Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 250-52.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. Vide the Governor's Minute of 1st February.
1763, in which he answers the objections to the regulations.

¹⁷¹ Extract from consultations of 17th January, 1763.

government. The Nawab also sent to the their decision of 1st President similar complaints against the servants of the Company. The Council decided on 1st March, 1763, that "they had a right to trade in salt, betelnut, and every other article of inland trade, duty-free and with the Company's Dustuck, equally with the foreign trade. It was further decided that a duty of two and a half per cent. on salt should be paid to the Nawab, "in conformity to the usual practice, not as the Nawab's right, but as an indulgence to him from the Board." 174

The attitude of the members of the Council on Their attitude highly this occasion was highly uncompunction. The duty of 9 p. c. on the prime cost of the goods would have been "a very easy and advantageous accommodation for the English dealers in this trade;" and as the

^{172 &}quot;The defendants of the country government are plainly those who hold offices, trusts, or rents under the government, and there is an established distinction between them and the weavers, who are regarded as dependants of the merchants that employ them; and this is a distinction well known to all but those who through passion will not know it."

¹⁷³ Letter from the Nawab to the President, 22nd February, 1763, Original Papers, Vol. II, pp. 94-95.

Vol. II, pp. 75-87; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 417.

Cf. "and this as a compliment, a favour, a consideration, not a right."

Nawab had "consented to accept that as an equivalent for all demands," the compliance of the members of the Council with it would have given them a confirmed right to what had hitherto been always disputed. Moreover, as has been already pointed, it would have placed them in a more privileged position than the native merchants. But all prudence and judgment vanish away when hatred, rivalry and selfishness reign supreme.

Day by day affairs took a serious turn. The Dacca Factors informed the Council of a fray between the officers of the government and a party of sepoys that had been sent to release some boats, stopped near Jafarganj. The English gentlemen at Patna also wrote that they had sent an officer with three companies of sepoys to Mow for removing the restrictions on the Company's trade at that place. Being tired of this anomalous state of things, the Nawab

¹⁷⁵ Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 414-16.

Cf. Vansittart's letter to Messrs. Johnston, Hay and Bolts, Dec. 15, 1762 A.D.

¹⁷⁶ Vide ante.

Patna to the Governor and Council, dated 6th March, 1763. Original Papers, Vol. II, p. 109. For further details, vide ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. "It appeared that an exemption from duties had thrown the whole trade of the country into the hands of the English. This, however, was the least evil. The



issued a parawanah abolishing all duties on

The Nawab abolished all duties on inland trade for two years:

—explanation of his measure.

inland trade for two years.¹⁷⁹ The Nawab fully expressed his point of view in this matter in his letter to the Council, dated

22nd March, 1763:—"The affair of the duty is as follows: on account of the oppression of the

country Government was destroyed by the violence of their agents; and individual tyranny succeeded to national arrangement. In the general confusion all who were disposed to plunder assumed the authority of our name, usurped the seats of justice, and carried on what they called, a trade, by violence and oppression. The Nawab's officer either fled before them or joining the invader, divided the spoil. The barrier of the country government once broken down, it became impossible to stop the inundation. Mahomedan, Portuguese and Armenian alike, nay, every illiterate mariner who would escape from a ship, erected our flag, and acted as lord of the district around him." Verelst, View of Bengal, p. 106.

179 "Perwannah from Mir Casim to Raja Nobet Roy, dated the 19th Shaaban, or 5th March, 1763:—

"Having been certainly informed that the greater part of the Merchants of my country have suffered considerable losses and have laid aside all traffic, sitting idle and unemployed in their houses.

Therefore with a view to the welfare and quiet of this kind of people, I have caused all duties and customs, chowkeydaree Mangan, collections upon new built boats and other lesser taxes by land or by water, for two years to come, to be removed, and my sunnud is accordingly sent to enforce it." Proceedings, March 22, 1763.



English Gomasthas, there has not as much a single farthing been collected by way of duties. Nay, so far from it, you have combined with some of my people and taken penalties from others. And many merchants who ought to pay customs, have carried their goods duty free through your protection. Upon this account I have entirely given up the collection of duties, and removed all Chowkeys wheresoever established. For why should I subject my character to be reproached without cause on account of duties? If any one of my people insist on duties, I shall severely punish him. As to what you write of your grounding your rights upon the Firmaund and former sunnuds, I have been twenty or thirty years in this country and am perfectly well acquainted with the nature thereof. But you ought to remember that your Gomasthas until the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffar Khan, traded only on some certain articles. Nay, although I stood your friend, you were unable to provide ten or twenty timbers from Chittagong for building; but now in my administration, your Gomasthas make so many disturbances, and are guilty of so great injuries that I cannot enumerate them. Judge therefore, from these circumstances, who is the oppressor, and who the oppressed."180

180 Original Papers, Vol. II, pp. 138-40.

It should be noted here that the President, in his letter to the Council, dated 14th December, 1762 (Original



As soon as the Nawab's parawanah for abolish-

Majority in the Council become furious. ing inland duties had been out, it was resolved by a majority in the Council that "this exemp-

tion was a breach of the Company's privileges and that the Nawab should be positively required to recall it, and collect duties as before from the country merchants and all other persons who had not the protection of the Company's Dustuck." 181

The President and Mr. Hastings disagreed with the Council; The President and Mr. Hastings disagreed with the Council and pointed out that "the Nazim of every Province has a right to do

anything for the relief of the merchants trading under his protection without waiting for an order from the (Imperial) Court; besides there is at this time no court, nor has been for some years, and therefore the Nazim must of necessity manage their several governments as they shall judge best for

Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 222-28), mentioned that in course of his conversation with the Nawab on the subject of inland trade and duties, the latter had observed that "if the English Gomasthas were permitted to trade in all parts and all commodities custom free, his customs would be of so little value to him, that it would be much more for his interest to lay trade entirely open; and collect no customs upon any kind of merchandise which would draw a number of merchants into his country and at the same time it would cut off the principal subject of the disputes which had disturbed the good understanding between us."

181 Original Papers, Vol. II, p. 124.

the general good. And if either the Nawab Serajoo Dowla, Jaffer Ally Khan, or Cossim Aly Khan have a right to give up to us those duties which their predecessors received, or permit us to trade in articles we were before excluded from; of course they have a right also to make regulations in favour of trade in general." The Nawab being strongly determined to take off customs in general and to lay trade entirely open, sent the following reply to the arguments of the The Nawab's reply; members of the Council in personal correspondence to Mr. Vansittart:-"'It was notorious that merchants of all sorts made it a practice to pass their own goods under the name of English agents: and that as a release of duties to the latter would in fact amount to a general exemption also to most of the former, save only a few wretches too obscure to afford the expense of purchasing protectors, and too poor to afford duties that would be worth perception; he had therefore taken the part to suppress all customs and duties whatever, and to render the exemption general since as long as the principal merchants could find means to pass duty free, under the English mask, it would be hard to torment a few poor people who could submit to duties, but whose contributions would never repay the charges of perception. That as to the order

¹⁸² Proceedings, March 24, 1763.

of dismissing the English agents, prisoners in his camp, it was an injunction vain and absurd; since the English having first seized and confined his officers, these, of course, ought to be released first before the others could be dismissed at all." The Court of Directors took a just view

Views of the Court of Directors;—their letter of 30th December, 1763. of the situation and strongly condemned the action and behaviour of the Council in Calcutta in their letter, dated

30th December, 1763 :- "If what is all stated is fact, it is natural to think that the Nawab tired out and disgusted with the ill usage he has received, has taken this extraordinary measure finding that his authority and government are set at naught and trampled upon by the unprecedented behaviour of our servants and the agents employed by them in the several parts of the Nawab's dominions. If we are right in our conjecture, we positively direct, as you value our service, that you do immediately acquaint the Nawab, in the Company's name, that we disapprove of every measure that has been taken in real prejudice to his authority and government particularly with respect to the wronging him in his revenues by the shameful abuse of Dustucks; and you are further to inform him that you look upon his and the Company's interest to be so connected that we wish for nothing more than to have everything

put on such a footing that the utmost harmony may be promoted and kept up between." 184

It is difficult to understand how those members of the Council in Calcutta could base their right to internal trade, free of all customs and duties, on the Firman of 1716-17.185 The

Wrong interpretation of the Firman of 1717 by the Council in Calcutta. Firman was never intended to throw open the internal trade of Bengal (i.e., trade from place to place within the country)

in the commodities of the country (e.g., salt, betel-nut and tobacco) to the servants of a foreign trading Company, to the prejudice of the interests of the country merchants, as well as of the Nawab's revenues. Neither Siraj-ud-dowla nor Mir Jafar did understand it to be so. 186 Certainly no sound principle of International Law can allow such treaties of commerce between two contracting parties as would benefit one to the utter disadvantage of the other. The Court of Directors expressed their sentiments on this point in their letter

Opinion of the Council in Calcutta, dated 26th April, 1765:—"We do not mean to enter into a discussion, respecting the political conduct of our late Governor (Vansittart) and his Council; but

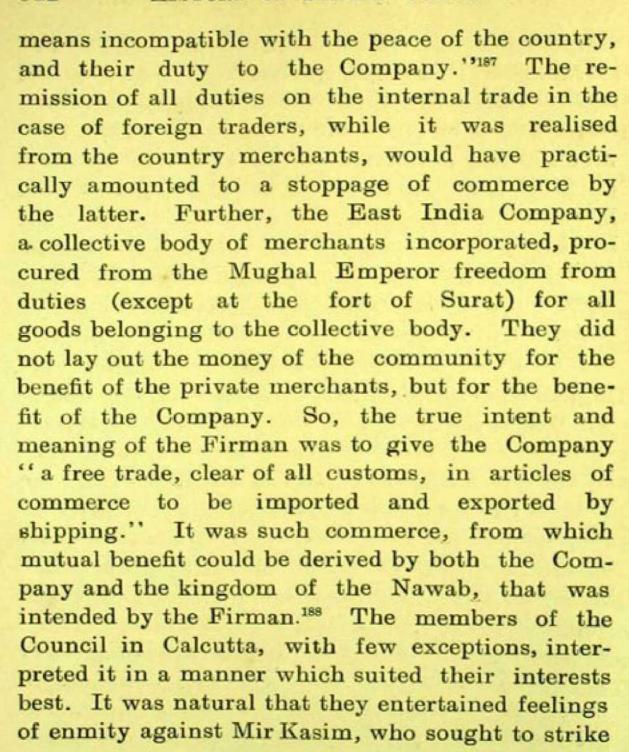
late Governor (Vansittart) and his Council; but must say that an unbounded thirst after riches

¹⁸⁴ Wheeler, Early Records of British India, pp. 311-12.

¹⁸⁵ Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 271-72.

¹⁸⁶ Vide ante.

seems to have possessed the whole body of our servants to that degree, that they have lost all sight of justice to the country government and of their duty to the Company. reading the opinions of the several members of the late Council respecting illegal trade, by which they mean the articles of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, we are astonished to find those among them who pretend to found their rights on the Firmans. Treaties of Commerce are understood for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties. Is it then possible to suppose that the Court of Delhy by conferring the privilege of trading free of customs, could mean an internal trade in the commodities of their own country, at that period unpractised and unthought of by the English, to the detriment of their revenues and to the ruin of their own merchants. We do not find such a construction ever was heard of until our own servants first invented it and afterwards supported it by violence; neither could it be claimed by the subsequent treaties with Mir Jaffer (June 1757) or Cossim Aly (July 1763) which were never understood to give one additional privilege of trade beyond what the Firman expressed. In short the specious arguments used by those who pretended to set up a right to it convince us that they did not want judgment but. virtue, to withstand the temptation of suddenly amassing a great fortune, although acquired by



¹⁸⁷ Verelst, View of Bengal, Appendix, pp. 128-29.

¹⁸⁸ A letter from the Governor and Mr. Hastings to the Council, dated 15th December, 1762, Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 222-24.



a blow at the sources of their income from private trade in order to protect the interests of the native merchants of Bengal. From interchange of complaints and haughty words through letters, the two Defeat and expulsion parties were drawn into battles, which resulted in the defeat and expulsion of Mir Kasim from Bengal.

After this Mir Jafar was reinstalled as the

Reinstallation of Mir Jafar,—his treaty with the Company of 10th July, 1763. Nawab of Bengal. The Council in Calcutta concluded a treaty with him on 10th July, 1763, by which it was agreed that "the

English shall carry on their trade by means of their own Dustucks, free from all duties, taxes and impositions, in all parts of the country excepting the salt, on which a duty of two and a half per cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Houghly market price; wherein it is further agreed, that the late Perwannahs, issued by Cossim Aly Khan (Mir Kasim) granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before." This left the country open for the oppressions and

Oppressions of the gomastas increased adding to the sufferings of the country merchants and people.

plunderings of the Company's gomastas, to the acute sufferings of its people and merchants.

¹⁸⁹ Verelst, View of Bengal, Appendix, p. 128; Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. III.



Mir Jafar sent the following representations 190 to the Council in Calcutta, through Major Adams, for regulating the internal trade of the country:—"As there are factories of the English Company at Cassimbazar, Dacca, Patna and other places and Chiefs and Councillors are there, whatever Dustucks there may be for trade let them be established under the seal of the English Company. And let

Mir Jafar's representations to the Council in Calcutta for the regulation of internal trade.

them not interfere, nor grant recommendations in the affairs of the Revenues of the country as it is a means of weakening the

authority of my officers.

Sepoys and Liscarries in the name of the Company go into the country and oppress the Ryots. If they are sent into the country for the Company's business let them have a certificate in the seal of the English Councillor and if they go into the country without a certificate and make a disturbance let them be punished.

Let not the English gomasthas take possession of and set up their authority in any of the Zamindaree, or milky lands granted by the King rent free, or for a very trifling consideration, nor receive money for protection called Meraein nor hold any Farms: and whoever has taken possession of any lands let him relinquish them and let not protection be granted to the Dependents of the Sircar.

January, 1764, I. R. D. (Foreign).

Let there be Dustucks and the Company's seal with the boats loaded with silver and goods and let them pass and repass giving copies to the Chowkey according to custom.

With regard to the gomasthas of the English Company who are in different parts of the country excepting for the business of the English Company and Councillors let them not for their own affairs and concerns send sepoys upon the Ryots, nor oppress them, force them to purchase their goods and if any dispute shall arise let them make it known to the officer of the Sircar and have it settled by him.

On 6th January, 1764, the Nawab sent a letter

His complaints against the conduct of the Patna Factors.

to the Council complaining of the many obstructions that his officers had met with in the province of Bihar from the English

gentlemen at the Patna factory. ¹⁹¹ The Council being desirous of introducing certain necessary regulations for preventing future disputes in the country, wrote to the Chief of the Patna factory repeating, along with other instructions, the prohibition which had been already laid down

The Council's instructions to the Patna Factory.

"that no persons or their dependants residing under the Company's flag are to be permitted to hold Gaunges, Rents or any

¹⁹¹ Bengal Secret Consultations, Fort William, 19th January, 1764, I.R.D. (Foreign).



other offices from the country government." 192
The Chief of the Patna factory replied to the Council on 3rd February that the orders of the Council had been duly obeyed and "that no Gentlemen of the Factory or their dependants hold either Gunge, Rent or other offices from the country government..." 193

But in other parts of the country, Sufferings of the such as, Cassimbazar, Rangpur, people in other parts of the country. Dinajpur, etc., the people were labouring under "unlawful proceedings of many private European agents and their Gomasthas." 194 The following letter from the vakil (representative) of the Zamindar of Buzzoorgomepore (?) gives a true picture of the condition to which the internal trade of the country had been reduced -"The Pergunnah of Buzzoorgomeopore, etc., in the Zemindary of my master. By reason of the oppressions of the Factors of the Company and many other English traders of whom underneath is a list, all inhabitants are fled. The people of the Factors take from the markets what they please at half price, cut down Bamboos and Trees belonging to the inhabitants and take them away

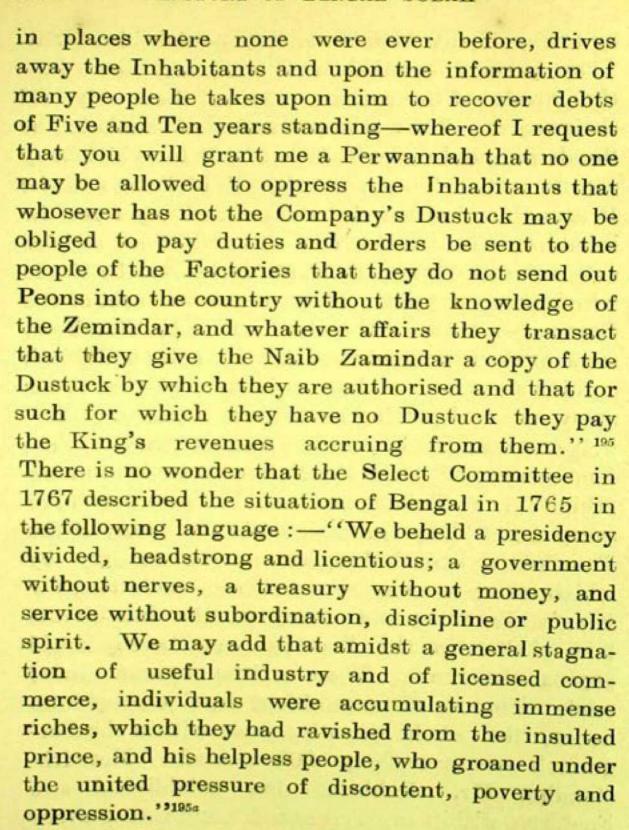
¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Bengal Secret Consultations, Fort William, 13th February, 1764, I.R.D. (Foreign).

¹⁹⁴ Bl. St. Cons., 30th April, 1764. I. R. D. (Foreign).



by force, if any complains, they punish him for it. They press the inhabitants and carry them into the woods of Sundarbun, paying them only half their wages. They take possession of lands in the Sunderbun and make Tafsels of salt for which they pay no rents. They seize the salt of Tafsels of the Pergunah and of the inhabitants. They force the inhabitants to take tobacco, salt and other articles and refuse to pay the legal duties on the Trade which they carry on. If we demand a sight of the Company's Dustuck they beat us with Bamboos, some of them pretend that they have been Robbed; and insist on our making restitution placing peons upon us and putting us to great expense. They judge causes, and impose and exact fines. They send peons, and seize the Naib of the Pergunnah taking for a Tullabana (Peons' Fees) one rupee every day. They grant guards to many of the Taluckdars and Mollungess in the country by which means we are prevented from collecting the King's Revenues and many of the inhabitants take shelter in the Factories and thereby avoid paying the rents. There is little chunam (lime) made within the distance of four days' journey from hence, the whole quantity made within the Pergunnah not exceeding 200 maunds. Notwithstanding Mr. Dobbries has established two Factories within my Pergunnah committing every species of Injury and oppressing and violating the women of the Inhabitants and erecting Factories



¹⁹⁵ Bl. St. Cons., 7th May, 1764.

¹⁹⁵a Verelst, Vices in Bengal, Appendix, p. 471.



The Court of Directors in their letter, dated 8th

February, 1764, informed the
Governor and Council in Bengal
that "from the receipt of this
letter, a final and effectual end be forthwith put to
the Inland Trade in Salt, Betelnut, Tobacco and
in all other articles whatsoever produced and consumed in the country; and that all European and
other Agents, or Gomosthas, who have been concerned in such Trade, be immediately ordered down
to Calcutta, and not suffered to return or be
replaced as such, by any other persons.

That as our Phirmaund Privileges of being Duty-free are certainly confined to the Company's Export and Import Trade only, you are to have recourse to, and keep within, the Liberty therein stipulated, and given, as nearly as can possibly be done. But as by the connivance of the Bengal Government and constant usage, the Company's Government servants have had the same Benefit as the Company, with respect to their Export and Import Trade, we are willing they should enjoy the same; and that Dustucks be granted accordingly; but herein the most effectual care is to be taken, that no excesses or abuses are suffered upon any account whatsoever, nor Dustucks granted to any other than our Government servants as aforesaid. However, notwithstanding any of our former orders, no writer is to have the benefit of a Dustuck, until he has served his full Time of

Five years in that Station: Free Merchants and others are not entitled to, or to have the benefit of the Company's Dustucks, but are to pay the usual Duties.

As no Agents or Gomasthas are to reside, on Account of private Trade, at any of the Inland Parts of the country, all business on account of licensed private Trade is to be carried on by, and through the means of, the Company's Covenant servants, residing at the several subordinate Factories, as has been usual." 196

For some time after the receipt of this letter,

Attention of the the regulation of the internal Council in Calcutta to the regulation of the trade of Bengal engaged the attention of the Council in Calcutta. 197 The Council tried to put some restraints "upon those excesses which either ignorance or passion or self-interest" had led the English agents to commit in the country. 198 Those agents were practically under no law, because the Charter of the Company did not authorise the Company's Courts "to take cognisance of any crimes they might commit in those parts," and it had been also "laid down as a

¹⁹⁶ Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. III; Wheeler, Early Records of British India, pp. 311-14.

¹⁹⁷ Letter to Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapur, dated 3rd October, 1764. Midnapur District Records, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹⁸ Bl. St. Cons., 3rd May, 1764.



fundamental principle that the country Government shall have no power of them." 199 therefore, resolved by the Council on 3rd May, 1764, that "all the Europeans, Portugese, Natives, and Armenian agents which are now up the country shall have notice given them to settle their concerns so as to return to Calcutta by the 50th November, and that after that time no European shall be permitted to go up the country under any pretence whatsoever or any other agent be employed in our own Trade but Bengal Natives. With respect to the practice of carrying on the Inland trade by Force (called Burja or Guchaount) it is a practice which we entirely disapprove, and in order to put a stop to it as soon as possible it is agreed to send directions to Dacca, Rungepore and Malda to prohibit it in the districts under the Factory but to do it with such care and discretion as not to affect the Company's Investment as we do not mean to invalidate the right derived to the Company from their Phirmaund always held over their own weavers." All the members of the Council were not unanimous in their opinion on these resolutions; 201 but it was at last decided in July 1764, that all European agents should be recalled,

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Bl. St. Cons., 21st July, 1764. For details about the opinion of the members, vide Appendix.



and that they should leave their respective places of residence in the country in such time as to arrive in Calcutta by the 31st of December. 202 The members also thought that a scheme should be formed for carrying on the inland tradei n conformity with the orders of the Court of Directors. 203 We find in Consultations, 17th October, 1764, that the Council in Calcutta proposed the regulation of confining the trade of their servants in the article of salt to the capital cities of Patna, Dacca and Murshidabad on paying the Nawab a duty of two and a half per cent. This could not by any means "obviate the Nawab's objections arising from the distress of the poor and the injury to his revenues," for while the Company's people had

²⁰² Ibid.

of Bengal, Appendix, p. 128. At a general meeting of the Court of Proprietors held on the 18th of May. 1764, it was pointed out by several members that the servants of the Company in India "ought not to be deprived of such precious advantages." The Court, therefore, resolved, "That it be recommended to the Court of Directors to consider the orders sent to Bengal relative to the trade of the Company's servants in salt, betelnut and tobacco, and to regulate this important point, either by restrictions framed at home, or by referring it to the Governor and Council of Fort William in such a manner as may prevent all future Disputes betwixt the Soubah and the Compnay." Verelst, op. cit., p. 107.



to pay two and a half per cent. the country people had to pay twenty or perhaps forty per cent.204

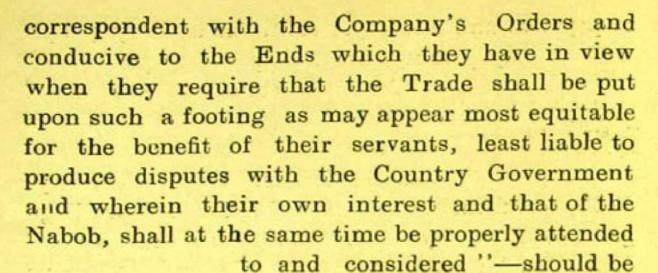
Article 5 of the Treaty of 20th February, 1765. The fifth article of the treaty concluded by the President and Council in Calcutta with Nazimud-dowla on 20th February.

1765, confirmed "to the English the privilege granted them by their phirmaund and several Husbulhookums, carrying on their trade by means of their own Dustuck free from all Duties, Taxes and Impositions in all parts of the country, excepting the article on salt, on which a duty of two half per cent. is to be levied on the Rowna, or Houghley Market price." 2005

According to the orders of the Court of Directors, as contained in their letter of 1st June, 1764, the Select Committee in its meeting of 10th August, 1765, when Mr. William Sumner and Mr. Verelst were present, took into consideration the subject of the inland trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco. It decided that the following plan,—which was esteemed to be the "most

²⁰⁴ Ibid, Appendix, pp. 130-31.

²⁰⁵ Court's Letter to Bengal, dated 19th February, 1766. In this letter the Court of Directors complained that they considered this arrangement "as an express Breach and Violation of our Orders and as a determined Resolution to sacrifice the Interest of the Company and the peace of the country to lucrative and selfish views."



carried into execution:-" 1st, Establishment monopoly in salt, betelnut, and tobacco. That the Trade shall be carried on by an exclusive Company,

formed for that purpose and consisting of all those who may be deemed justly entitled to share. That a proper fund shall be raised by a Loan at interest, for the supply and support of the same; and that it shall commence in the month of September ensuing or as soon after as may be found most convenient. 2ndly, That all Salt, Betelnut and Tobacco produced in or imported into Bengal, shall be purchased by this established Company and public advertisement shall be issued, strictly prohibiting all other Persons whatever, who are dependent on our Government, to deal in these Articles.

3rdly, That application shall be made to the Nabob to issue the like prohibition to all his officers and subjects, of the Districts where any quantity of either of these Articles is manufactured or produced.



4thly, That the salt shall be purchased by contract on the most reasonable Terms, giving the preference to the factories of Dacca, Chittagong, Burdwan, and Midnapore, for the produce of their respective Districts to the Fousdar of Houghly, and the other Zamindars, for the produce of Inglee, Tumlook, Mysidole, etc., and to such persons as may offer the most reasonable proposals, for the quantity produced in Calcutta Lands.

5thly, That the betelnut and tobacco shall, on like manner, be purchased by contract, under such terms and conditions as upon proper enquiry, shall appear to the Managers to be most conformable to the interest concerned.

6thly, That the contractors for the salt shall agree to deliver it at certain fixed places at a stipulated Rate per 100 Maunds, comprehending such an advance upon their contracts with the Zemindars and Molungees as may be esteemed an equivalent to their Risk, Trouble and bad Debts.

7thly, That as the Advance will be made by the contractors to the Zemindars, etc., at certain periods of the season, in the usual Manner, so shall the advances from the Public Company to the contractors be made in proportion thereto.

8thly, That the salt, betelnut, and tobacco, thus purchased by the Public Company shall be transported to a certain Number of Places for sale, to be there, and there only disposed of by



their Agents; and that the country Merchants may then become the purchasers, and again transport the Articles wither they think they have the greatest prospect of profit; that by this means, not only the frequent oppressions the Inhabitants of the country have suffered, by Europeans having Permission to traverse to every Place for the sale of those commodities, will be put a stop to, but, by thus reserving to the Natives and Merchants a competent share of the profits both in the purchase and sale, we may hope for the good Effect of removing the general odium that has prevailed from our seeking to deprive them of every Part of that Trade.

9thly, That as it is apprehended some difficulty will arise in securing the produce of the Dacca and Chittagong Districts, by reason of the property of the lands being scattered in a number of hands, all dependent on the Government; it is agreed, that application shall be made to the Nabob, for Perwanahs on the several Zemindars of those districts, as well as those of Houghley, etc., strictly ordering and requiring them to contract of all the salt that can be made on their lands with the English alone, and forbidding the sale to any other Person or Persons whatsoever.

10thly, That the Honourable Company shall either share in this Trade as Proprietors, or receive an annual duty upon it, as may appear to be most for their Interest, when considered with their



other Engagements and Demands at this Presidency.

11thly, That the Nabob shall in like Manner be considered, as may be judged most proper, either as a Proprietor, or by annual Nuzzernah, to be computed upon Inspecting a statement of his duties on salt in former years.

12thly, That the manner in which the Honourable Company and the Nabob shall be considered, being once determined, the Remainder of this Trade shall be divided amongst the Company's servants, arranged under certain classes, and each class to share a certain proportion of the capital stock.

13thly, That a Committee of Trade shall be appointed to receive the management of this Plan and present the same in all its Branches: That they shall be immediately authorised to take measures for raising the Fund at Interest, and to receive proposals, and settle the contracts: And further, that for their Assistance in this work, a person shall be appointed in the quality of their Secretary and Accomptant "206 Mr. Sumner handed over to the Committee 106 parwanahs, which he had received from the Nawab through Mr. Sykes, who had then visited Murshidabad, "for authorising and facilitating this trade," especially for giving effect to the 3rd and 9th regulations. He also presented to the Committee

²⁰⁶ Proceedings of the Select Committee, 10th August, 1765.



several other papers, which he had collected, regarding the produce of the different districts and the conditions under which salt could be contracted.207 About the appointment of the Committee of Trade, the Select Committee was of opinion that it should be composed of two members of their body and two gentlemen of the Council.208 The Committee of Trade solicited in their letter to the Council in Bengal, dated 11th September. 1765, "a Deed to secure the Proprietors in the Right to the same (reserved trade in the articles of salt, betelnut, and tobacco) during the continuance of their present engagements, to be renewed every season as long as it may be agreeable to the honourable Company that this plan should subsist." The Council thought it proper to grant the said 'Deed,' which was ordered to be prepared by Mr. Wittall for the security of the then Froprietor and it also agreed to write to the Court of Directors for permission to renew the same.209

The Select Committee considered at a meeting held on 18th September 210 that it would be more for the interest of the Company "to be considered

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Bengal Consultations, 16th September, 1765.

²¹⁰ Bengal Consultations, 18th September, 1765.



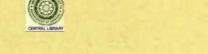
as superior of this Trade "rather than "to be engaged as Proprietors in the Stock" and that it should receive a duty on the following rates:—

"On salt, 35 per cent. Valuing the 100 Maunds at the rate of 90 Rupees, and in consideration hereof the present Collaree 211 Duty to be abolished.

On Bete lnut, 10 per cent. on the prime cost, on Tobacco, 25 per cent. on Ditto."

It was also decided that proprietors in the stock for this trade were to be arranged into three classes. The first class was to consist of the Governor with five shares, the second (of the Council) with three shares, the General with three shares, ten gentlemen of the Council each with two shares, two Colonels each with four shares (in all 39 shares). The second class was to be composed of one Chaplain, fourteen junior servants, and three Lieutenant Colonels, in all 18 persons, each of whom was to be entitled to one-third of a Councillor's proportion or two-thirds of one share (in all twelve shares for the second class). The

Collerie, Collurie, Khallary, etc., Bengal. A place where salt is manufactured: a salt-bed or pan; a mound of earth hollowed at the top, in which straw and other materials are placed to serve as a filter for the salt water poured upon it and which when freed from dirt and sand becomes brine for boiling." Wilson's Glossary.



third class was to be formed of thirteen Factors, four Majors, four First Surgeons at the Presidency, two First Surgeons at the Army, one Secretary to the Council, one Sub-accountant, one Persian translator, and one Sub-Export-Warehouse-keeper, in all 27 persons, each of whom was to be entitled to the sixth of a Councillor's proportion, one one-third of one share (eight shares for the third class). Twelve shares in that trade were to be allotted to 18 persons, composed of the First, Senior and Junior merchants, Lieutenant Colonels, and Chaplain or Chaplains, and eight shares to 24 persons composed of the Senior Factors, Majors, and Surgeons.

The Committee of Trade was to have power to form bye-laws and to enforce them with the approval of the Body of proprietors, and the books of the Society were to be opened on the first date of every September and closed on the 31st of the following August. The plan of the Select Committee was confirmed by the Council in Calcutta on 25th September, 1765, and it was then sent to the Committee of Trade with instructions to proceed accordingly.

The Select Committee in its letter to the Court of Directors, dated 30th September, 1765, stated that the monopoly of trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco was established in the hands of a Company, composed of three first classes of the Company's covenanted servants, the Field Officers,

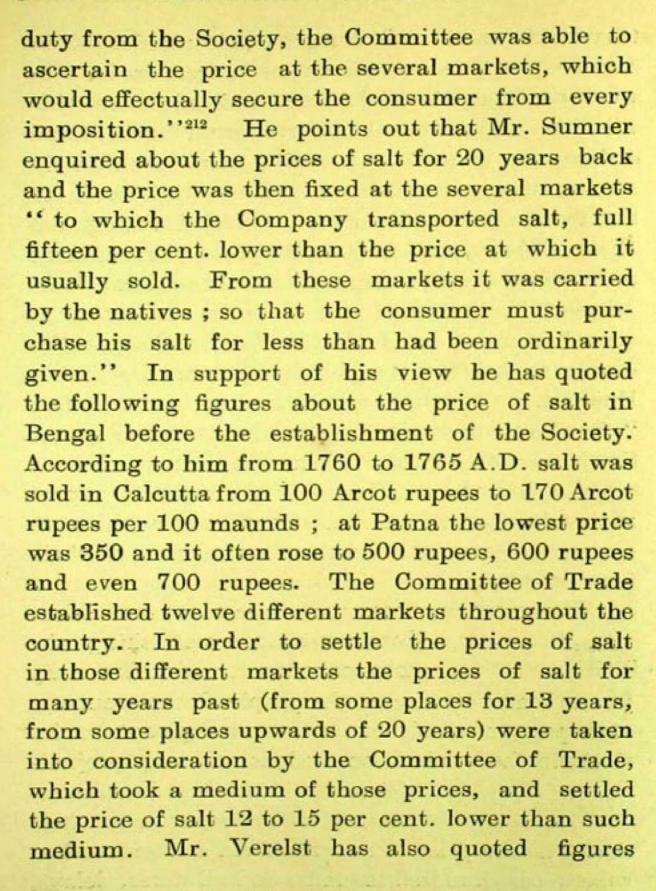


Chaplains and Head Surgeons, in order "to remove the Inconveniences of a free Trade, prevent the oppressions daily committed, save this valuable Article of Commerce from ruin, and diffuse the benefits resulting indiscriminately among all your servants entitled to Dustucks" to the above-mentioned officers. "In admitting the Field Officers, and stating the proportions allotted to each class," the members of the Select Committee "had particular regard to the present situation" of the Council and the Field Officers, who were excluded from "many Emoluments they before Enjoyed." In their opinion, gentlemen who had "risen to their stations with Credit and Reputation" were "entitled to something more than a mere subsistence. They have a right to expect such Advantages.....as may enable them to return in few years, with independence, to their own country."

Thus we have noted the objects of the Select

Effects of this Committee in establishing the monopoly.

Monopoly of salt trade. Let us try to know how it affected the people of the country. Monopoly of trade in a country placed exclusively in the hands of one body is generally prejudicial to the interests of its inhabitants. Mr. Verelst, however, held that "as the price of salt was fixed at two hundred rupees per hundred maunds, and all taxes, delays, and difficulties, were removed, by collecting





about prices of salt from Mr. Sumner's papers and from some original papers in the possession of Mr. Rumbold as "proofs that the price of salt at Patna was nearly, if not precisely, communibus annis, the same before the Society took place, during the continuance of the Society, and after the abolition of it He has quoted from Thoughts on the Affairs of Bengal by Arch. Keir, who was so great a trader in salt that he employed 13,000 people in one season for its manufacture, the following sentences in support of his statements :- "That the Society for the trade in salt, betelnut, and tobacco, instituted by Lord Clive and the Select Committee, was so far from being detrimental to the country, that those articles were not only not sold dearer, but indeed at a lower rate, during the monopoly, at most places at least, than at a medium, had been done for many years before, while there was a fixed price upon them, which no doubt, would have been of advantage to the people, had it been continued particularly with regard to salt." He admits that the price of salt increased after the establishment of the society in and about Calcutta because "formerly the duties were levied on the passage of salt to different parts of the country and now the duty was levied upon its importation into Calcutta." But in his opinion this did not affect



the people in the interior parts of the country, and he has also noted that Mr. Bolts estimated the price of salt by taking into consideration the Calcutta prices of that article instead of forming a proper judgment by studying the condition of the people in other parts of the country.

Bolts gives quite a different account. According to him the establishment of Bolts' opinion. the monopoly of salt trade greatly affected the interests of the people in general as the "produce of the whole country was engrossed by the Committee, who paid at the rate of 75 rupees for what was sold in many places upwards of 500 Rupees per 100 maunds; which in effect was making a poor inhabitant pay at the rate of 62 rupees for a quantity of salt which, in the course of the trade, he would have bought for one rupee."214 He has quoted several documents in support of his view both in the body of his book as well as in its appendix. The Dutch traveller Stavorinus makes the following remark about the effects of the monopolies on the people of Bengal :- "These poor people (the Bengalese) who contribute so much to the pros-Remark of Stavorinus. perity of the country, instead of being favoured and encouraged by the English, are on the contrary, continually exposed to the rapacious

²¹⁴ Bolts, Considerations on Indian Affairs, p. 177.

extortions of their taskmasters and are oppressed in every way, partly by open violence, and partly by monopolies, which the English have made of all articles necessary to life, the dried cowdung even not exempted, which those poor people use for fuel. But this is not so much to be ascribed to the English Company as to their servants, who leave no means untried, to accumulate wealth. They do not trouble themselves about the manner of obtaining it, so they do but speedily amass the riches they are in search of." 214a

We could have prepared a real picture of the condition of the people after the establishment of this Society, if we had been able to study the facts from some other disinterested authorities. The

Absence of disinterested authorities and silence of the native writers on this point. native writers are all silent on this point, and other records are also lacking. If Bolts' account cannot be regarded as historical

because he was biassed against the Company, no absolute reliance can also be placed on the accounts of Verelst or Sumner. Both the latter had taken part in the trade and had direct interest in it. So their accounts might be coloured by personal considerations.

We have already noted how the Court of Directors in their letters to the Council in Bengal, had always expressed dissatisfaction with the conduct

²¹⁴a Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, pp. 490-92.



of their servants and gomastas in Bengal for carrying on an illegal trade within the country, to the great prejudice of the interests of the merchants and people of the country as well as of the Company. The Directors had hoped that the Select Committee, after its arrival in Calcutta, would be able to effect a fair settlement in the matter of internal trade. 2146 But on being informed of the Select Committee's plan

Plan of the Select Committee discountenanced by the Court of Directors. through a letter from Bengal, dated 30th September, 1765, they discountenanced it wholly. They sent their sentiments and

orders to Bengal in the following terms:—"We have in all our letters, from the first knowledge we had of our servants being engaged in the Inland Trade, strongly discountenanced and forbade it. We have always treated it as a Breach of our orders, a violation of the Phirmaund, and in a great Measure the cause of the late Wars: The amazing sums demanded for Restitution, in respect of Losses sustained in this Trade, have opened our Eyes to the vast extent to which it has been carried; the oppressions of the unhappy Natives, that have attended the carrying it on, and which have pervaded all Parts of the Nabob's Dominions, have convinced us, that a Monopoly of the Necessaries of Life, in any Hands whatever, more

²¹⁴⁶ Letter to Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765.



especially in the Hands of the English. who are possessed of such an overruling Influence, is liable to the greatest Abuses.

* * * * *

With respect to the Company, it is neither consistent with their Honour nor their Dignity to promote such exclusive Trade. As it is now more immediately our Interest and Duty to protect and cherish the Inhabitants and to give them no occasion to look on every Englishman as their national Enemy, a sentiment we think over a Monopoly would necessarily suggest; we cannot therefore approve the plan you have sent us for trading in salt, Betelnut, or Tobacco or admit of this Trade in any shape whatever; and do hereby confirm our former orders for its orders entire Abolition." 215 entire abolition of the It was monopoly. therefore resolved by the Select Committee on the 16th of January, 1767, "That the Society of Trade shall be abolished and the inland trade totally relinquished on the first day of September next." 216 It was not actually abolish-

ed till the 14th of September, 1768.216a

²¹⁵ Letter to Select Committee, dated 17th May, 1766, paras. 31 and 36.

²¹⁶ Verelst, View of Bengal, p. 119.

²¹⁶a Mill, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 431.



SECTION IV.

Saltpetre trade of the English at Patna.

The extent of Patna at that time was about seven miles in length and half a mile in It was a centre of trade for cloth, 218 breadth.217 opium, 2184 and chiefly for saltpetre. Most of the saltpetre exported 219 by the European Companies was manufactured within the Bihar, the centre of saltpetre manufacture of Bihar. The Dutch ture and trade. and the French, who also had their factories at Patna, were the rivals of the

English in this saltpetre trade.

In 1739 men of the English factory at Patna had a quarrel with the men of the Dutch factory there concerning the saltpetre "bought jointly

²¹⁷ Grose. Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. II, pp. 639-42; Rennel, Memoir of the Map of Indostan, p. 61.

²¹⁸ Letter to Court, dated 3rd January, 1740.

²¹⁸a Stavorinus, Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I. pp. 474-78: Abbe Raynal, The Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies. Vol. I, p. 319.

²¹⁹ Fort William Consultations, 25th September, 1752; Letter to Court, 10th August, 1749,



SALTPETRE TRADE OF ENGLISH AT PATNA

which was seized by the Dutch with an armed

Competition among the European Companies for the purchase of saltpetre. force." The dispute growing acute, the English President and Council in Calcutta applied privately to the Dutch Direc-

torate at Hugli, and the matter was then amicably settled by June of the same year. ²²⁰ Soon after this, the members of the English factory at Patna were informed by their authorities in Calcutta "to procure a large quantity of saltpetre as soon as possible" which the former promised to do by 14th July. ²²¹ On 29th August the Patna factory sent a fleet to Calcutta with 18603 bags of saltpetre and in October another fleet with 6500 bags more. ²²²

But again in the year 1741 the Dutch Chief at Patna "contrary to an agreement endevoured to procure all the saltpetre he could to the (English) Company's prejudice." Thereupon the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Dutch Director at Hugli, who "promised to write strenuously to Patna."

The price of saltpetre rose that year to six 'Ely (Ilahi) Rupees,' a maund on account of these disputes, which were, however, soon accommodated

²²⁰ Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 478 and 518.
Letter to Court, 3rd January, 1740, para. 86.

²²¹ Ibid, para. 90.

²²² Ibid, para. 98.

²²³ Letter to Court, dated 11th December, 1741, para, 218.

and a contract was then signed for the ensuing year. Lieutenant Jacobs went back from Patna to Calcutta on 16th January, 1742, with 4533 bags of saltpetre and 64 bales (of cloth), 1018 bags more being then on the way. The Patna factory further 'gave hopes of 56000 Maund saltpetre' and sent words to the authorities in Calcutta that it had "10258 Maund in Warehouse" and had "supplied Madras with 1800" and was "sending 3800 maund more." 226

About the beginning of the next year the authorities in Calcutta received from Patna only "12212 bags saltpetre invoiced at 4 rupees a maund."²²⁷ The advance of Balaji Rao through Bihar in the month of February, 1743 ²²⁸ "impeded saltpetre investment at Patna."²²⁹ The Company had to suffer further troubles in this respect on account of Mr. Cole's maladministration of the Patna factory and his behaviour towards Omichand, Deepchand (brother of Omichand) and other Assamys." ^{229a}

The English factors at Patna tried to persuade both the Dutch and the French to keep down the

^{224 .}Letter to Court, 30th January, 1742, para. 5.

²²⁵ Ibid, para. 7.

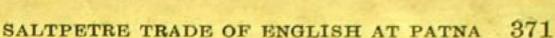
²²⁶ Letter to Court, 31st July, 1742, para. 20.

²²⁷ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, para. 58.

²²⁸ Letter to Court, 13th August, 1743, para. 8,

²²⁹ Ibid, para. 19.

²²⁹a Letter to Court, 8th November, 1744, para, 18.



price. 280 The Dutch Directorate at Hugli expressed its willingness to enter into agreements with the English for the purchase of saltpetre, but the French "insisted on 25000 Maunds yearly." 231 The Dutch "desired the French might have only 25 per cent., the French have no right to more."282 But the French remained persistent in their demands, and so the authorities in Calcutta "wrote to Patna to agree with the Dutch in purchasing as last year and to bring the French to Reasonable terms and not buy any separate."233 Mr. Drabbe, the Dutch Chief at Patna, agreed to "purchase saltpetre and to give the Three Nations their usual proportions for Dobarra Petre at 3 rupees 4 annas sicca per Maund."234 On the 2nd of January, 1745, the Patna factory sent 6094 bags of saltpetre, together with 42 bales of cloths, and 8 bales of chints to Calcutta. 235

But the troubles about the accounts of Omichand, Deepchand and others remained yet unsettled. So Omichand and Deepchand resolved not to allow the English to purchase a seer of saltpetre

Letter to Court, dated 9th February, 1745, para.63.

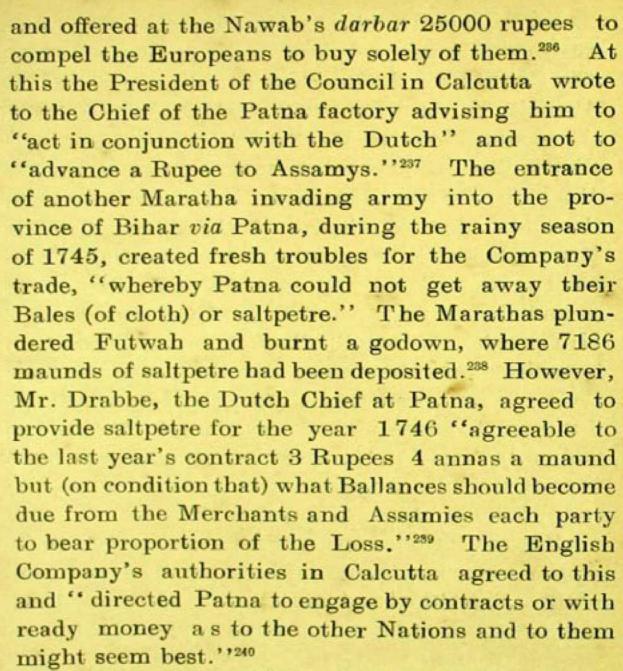
²³¹ Ibid, para. 64

²³² Ibid. para. 65.

²³³ Ibid, para. 68.

²³⁴ Letter to Court, dated 11th August, 1745. para.

²³⁵ Letter to Court, dated 9th February, 1745, para.



On 16th March, 1746, the Chief of the Patna factory informed the authorities in Calcutta that "they had sent the saltpetre that was damaged by

²³⁶ Ibid, dated 31st January, 1746, paras. 47-59.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid, paras. 111-14.

²³⁹ Ibid, para. 137.

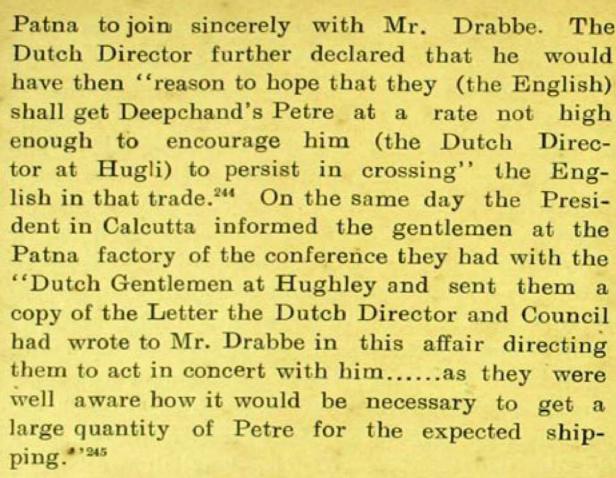
²⁴⁰ Ibid.

the Fire at Fatwah to the Carconnahs (manufactories) at Chupra and Singia, the produce of which they would send the next Season."241 On 15th April of the same year the Dutch Chief "signed the contract for the saltpetre business," whereupon the English informed him that they would want "a large supply of Petre." He replied that he "would do his utmost to procure as large a quantity as possible, that in consequence thereof he afterwards proposed to them the buying of Deepchund's Petre at a stipulated price and he had sent people to Chupra to make the bargain but that he could not come to any agreement for it."242 In short Mr. Drabbe then "assured them he should not be able to provide more saltpetre this year than he did the last."243 But the English were then in need of more saltpetre, as they had received only 21274 maunds during the last year. So their authorities in Calcutta thought it proper to consult the Dutch Directorate at Hugli about purchasing Deepchand's saltpetre, and sent Mr. Kempe and Mr. Eyre to Hugli. On 7th June, Messrs. Kempe and Eyre returned to Calcutta with a letter from the Dutch Director at Hugli, desiring the English to give orders to their men at

²⁴¹ Letter to Court, dated 30th November, 1746, para. 23.

²⁴² Ibid, para. 25.

²⁴³ Ibid.

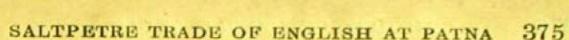


Mr. Drabbe made another proposal to the English at the Patna factory "concerning the purchase of Deepchund's Petre at the price formerly agreed on provided they (the English) would pay an Import Duty." The English told him that "they should be glad of the purchase (but), that whatever was paid no mention should be made of the customs." He agreed to this and expressed that he would write to Chuprah accordingly; but on 7th July "he wrote to Mr. Barwell for a Note

²⁴⁴ Ibid, para. 26.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, para. 26.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, para. 28.



for 25,000 Sicca Rupees to carry on the Petre business" for that year's contract. Mr. Barwell, "being out of cash and none of the shroffs caring to lend any money at Interest," offered him a Bill of Exchange on the Council in Calcutta. But that was rejected.247 Being informed of this by a letter from the Patna factory, dated 11th July, the President and the Council in Calcutta procured a Bill of Exchange for 50,000 rupees from Jagat Seth's house and sent it to Patna, as their necessity (for saltpetre) was very pressing.248 On 14th September, 1746, the President and Council in Calcutta received one letter from the Patna factory, dated 28th August, acknowledging the receipt of their Bill for 50,000 Sicca Rupees, and another letter, dated the 31st August, "advising of their having sent 30000 Sicca Rupees to the Dutch Chief," who returned a receipt for the sum.249

The Dutch boats arrived at Hugli towards the end of September with 36,000 maunds of saltpetre from Patna 250 but the English factory could not

²⁴⁷ Ibid, para. 29.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, para. 35.

The form of the receipt was :- "That he acknowledged to have received of Mr. Barwell 30,000 Sicca Rupees of which Rs. 26,175 in Account of the Petre business and Rs. 5825 Account of Chupra Petre which by Mr. Barwell's order he had paid the Durbar."

²⁵⁰ Ibid, para. 35.



send to Calcutta the 27,000 maunds, which only it had been able to collect, for want of boats.251 The English factory again fell into troubles with the Dutch Chief for the latter's demanding all the money, as arranged in the contract, for the purchase of Deepchand's saltpetre. The English at the Patna factory wrote to the Dutch Chief there that as they were short of money, they would send him "what they had in the House being 5,000 Sicca Rupees and would give him Bill" on their authorities in Calcutta for what more he might want.252 But the Dutch Chief replied that "it was not in his power to accept of Bills of Exchange but of ready money wherefore their tendering of Bills has been effectless so that if they want their true proportion of this year's petre He friendly desires them once more to send them the money wanting for that purpose, for on the contrary he shall be compelled to send remaining proportion down to Bengal." 258 the English saw that they would "receive no more petre from the Dutch Chief than to the amount of the money" they had handed over to him. The President and the Council in Calcutta, therefore, applied to the Dutch Directorate and Council at Hugli to have their "true proportion of Petre

²⁵¹ Ibid, para. 38.

²⁵² Ibid, para. 36.

²⁵³ Ibid.

SALT-PETRE TRADE OF ENGLISH AT PATNA 377

from Mr. Drabbe agreeable to contract to be delivered by him to them in Patna or in case of its having been brought to Hugly that it should be delivered" to them from that place. The Dutch at Hugli agreed to give the English their true proportion at Hugli provided the English kept "to the Letter of the contract in regard to Deepchand's last year's Petre" and also agreed to "partake in all charges of bringing it down and in the risque proportionable to the quantity." ²⁵¹ The English agreed to this on the condition that the Dutch at Hugli "agreed with Mr. Drabbe in making the price for Deepchund's Petre." ²⁵⁵

But a new difficulty soon arose. The Dutch at Hugli were informed by their men at Patna, "that Deepchund by giving 10,000 Rupees to the

(Nawab's) Government had got leave to send his last year's Petre down to Bengal and that he is making preparations for it." Considering this to be a matter of great importance, as it might highly prejudice their salt-petre trade at Patna, which was "one of the principal reasons of the establishment" of all the European Factories there, the Dutch at Hugli deputed Messrs. Bisdom and Walbeck, two gentlemen of their Council, to the English Council in Calcutta, to deliberate with them "what might and ought to be applied to

²⁵⁴ Ibid, para. 39. 255 Ibid.

frustrate that pernicious design and that since the Naib Subah of Behar is gone to Muxadavad (Murshidabad) they cannot find any better means than to get the Vacqueels (vakils) of the three nations (that is the French as well) as soon as possible to complain in significant terms to him and the Nawab of the injustice of these proceedings and the prejudice that is thereby done." 200 But the English expressed their unwillingness to enter into such measures with the Dutch, as they had not heard anything from their own men at Patna. Besides this, they had received an order from their authorities in England for withdrawing the factory at Patna, and purchasing saltpetre either in Calcutta or at Hugli. 257 Again, the Dutch wrote to the English on 31st October that "in case Mr. Drabbe should succeed at Patna in the purchase of Deepchund's last year's Petre. without (the English) agreeing to price," they would not fail to give the English time for "final declaration " and would also give them their true proportion of it, if the English, on their side, Co-operation between the Dutch and the English Company which that promise was made. 258 disappeared. But the English did not send any reply, whereupon the Dutch ordered that neither the English nor any under their jurisdic-

²⁵⁶ Ibid, para. 40.

³⁵⁷ Ibid, paras. 41 and 42.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, para. 43.

SALT-PETRE TRADE OF ENGLISH AT PATNA 379

tion "should purchase any of Deepchund's Petre." 239

The abovementioned troubles and the orders of the authorities in England for the withdrawal of the Patna factory and for the purchase of saltpetre wherever it could be available had by this time made the English Company indifferent to the saltpetre business at Patna, and so the Company remained silent. Thus, when Mr. Drabbe visited the English factory at Patna, early in November, to "know if they would continue the Petre business for the ensuing year on the terms of the last year's contract," the Chief of that factory referred the matter to the authorities in Calcutta, who advised him in reply not to "engage with the Dutch Chief for that Article." ²⁶¹

On the 14th of June, 1748, the Dutch at Hugli informed the English that their between the Dutch and men at Patna had contracted with Deepchand for all the saltpetre he would gather till October at Rs. 4-8-0 per maund, and so requested them to supply them with 60,000 rupees for that business. The English replied on 1st August next that if the

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1747, para. 75.

²⁶² Letter to Court, 19th November, 1748, para. 68.

Dutch "would deliver their petre at Hughly at 4-8 per maund" then they would take it and pay them what money "should be thought necessary to be advanced thereon." 268 On 14th August, the Dutch replied that as the proposal of the English was so extraordinary, they would keep the saltpetre for themselves. The English then informed the Dutch at Hugli that as their own members had left the Patna factory they (the Dutch) would bring down for them at Hugli their proportion of saltpetre. On 19th September the Dutch at Hugli informed the English that 27,449 bags of saltpetre had arrived and that 1,800 bags had been lost on account of a boat catching fire.264 The English then sent Mr. Richard Court to receive their own proportion and the latter returned with 8,199 bags.265 About this time the English sent home on "board the Winchelsea Thirteen hundred 1,300 bags of salt-petre, on the Port Bello Eight hundred bags

On 23rd April, 1753, the President of the Council in Calcutta informed other members that, being encouraged by Khawja Wajid's gomasta, he had applied to his master (Khawja Wajid) for the

800 and on the True Briton Twelve hundred

bags.....'' 266

²⁶³ Ibid, para. 64.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, para. 66.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Letter to Court, 22nd December, 1748, para. 4.



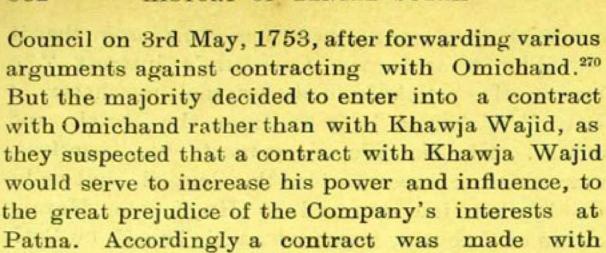
SALT-PETRE TRADE OF ENGLISH AT PATNA 381

provision of saltpetre, as he had considered that it would be better for the Company's interest "to procure this article from the original purchaser at Patna'' 267 than to have it from the Dutch and others. Khawja Wajid's gomasta was, therefore, summoned to appear before the Council, but as he had by that time returned to Hugli, one Harakchand of Calcutta, appeared on his behalf on 30th April and said that be had received a reply from Khawja Wajid "with orders to agree to for the delivery of 51,000 maunds (of saltpetre) at Calcutta between the months of September and January at the rate of Arcot Rs. 5-14 per Factory maund. That Khawja Wajid wanted no money to be advanced before the delivery of the petre (but) only interest for the amount from the day of making the contract, and that he (Harakchand) would sign the Teep for it on the usual terms with the penalty in case of failing in the contract." 268 Omichand was then called before the Council, and was informed that he should lower the price of saltpetre if he wanted to continue the contract in his name. Omichand replied that he would "provide the petre at A. Rs. 5-13 per Factory maund though by that means he should be sufferer." 269 President placed his own opinion before the

²⁶⁷ Fort William Consultations, 23rd April, 1753.

²⁶⁸ Fort William Consultations, 30th April, 1753.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.



Omichand on the following terms :-

"I, Omichand, merchant of Calcutta, do hereby agree with the President and Contract of the Eng-Council on account of the Hon'ble lish with Omichand for saltpetre. East India Company, to deliver them in Calcutta the full quantity of 51,000 Factory maunds of Patna Dobarra saltpetre at A. Rs. 5-12 per Factory Maund upon the To have nine percent following terms. terest allowed me upon the whole amount, A. Rs 2,93,250 from the 17th May, 1753, and for what sums advanced me from the Company's treasury, I shall give receipts. In the month of September I will deliver into the Company's godown maunds 20,000 and the remaining 31,000 by the 1st February, 1754, and if the whole quantity be not delivered into the Godowns by that time, I agree to pay the penalty of 10 p.c." 271

²⁷⁰ Fort William Consultations, 3rd May, 1753.

²⁷¹ Fort William Consultations, 24th May, 1753.



SALT-PETRE TRADE OF ENGLISH AT PATNA 383

In their letter, dated 31st January, 1755, the Court of Directors expressed Satisfaction of the their satisfaction at the conduct Court of Directors at this contract. of the members of the Council in Calcutta for their taking great pains in making the saltpetre contract for the year 1753, but they noted that they would have been more pleased if the contract for saltpetre had been made "with Khawja Wajid whose property it was," for in their opinion it was for the interest of the Company "to encourage as many persons as possible to make proposals not only for this article of saltpetre but all others." The Court of Directors further instructed the Council to "stir up and promote a useful competition for contracts " and to lay in a large stock of saltpetre 272 as they wanted as large quantity of that article as possible for the vear 1756.278

Besides the pressing demand for saltpetre from England, the Bombay and the demands from for saltpetre Madras Councils also wrote to Bombay England, and Madras. the Council in Calcutta January 1757 for despatching saltpetre to their respective places; the former for 500 tons and the latter for as large a quantity of that article as could be procured. But the Madras Council sent only 88,000 rupees for purchasing that article and also for that year's expenses of the Company's

²⁷² Court's Letter, 31st January, 1755,

²⁷³ Court's Letter, 19th December, 1756.



servants in Calcutta. The Council in Calcutta was highly dissatisfied at this behaviour of their men at Madras and complained to the Court of Directors in strong terms. But they tried their best to procure as much they could during these Before the middle of February troubled days.274 next, the President could with great difficulty procure only 800 bags of saltpetre at Chinsura.275 After capturing Chandernagore, the English applied to the Dutch Directorate at Hugli to make a contract with them for 60,000 maunds of saltpetre but they received no definite answer. At this they agreed to take it from Omichand at 6 Arcot rupees per factory maund, "20,000 mds. to be delivered in September, 15,000 in November and the remainder in February." 276 Mr. Pearkes was also likely to make a contract at Patna for 40,000 mds. at "C Rs. 5-6 as. per factory maund to be delivered in Calcutta free of all Risque (risk) and charges." 277 About the middle of August the Council in Calcutta sent to Madras 800 bags of saltpetre on the Mermaid Sloop. 278

274 Letter to Court, 31st January, 1757.

Letter from the Council in Calcutta to the Secret Committee, 8th January, 1757; Hill, op. cit, Vol. II, p. 92.

²⁷⁵ Letter to Court, 23rd February, 1757.

²⁷⁶ Letter to Court, 20th August, 1757.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Letter to Court, 27th September, 1757.



SALT-PETRE TRADE OF ENGLISH AT PATNA 385

The English were all this while trying to gain absolute control over the saltpetre farm in Bihar. After the installation of Mir Jafar as the Nawab of Bengal, disputes arose between the servants of Khawja Wajid and those of the English Company's factory at Patna (already re-established), culminating in the death of two servants of that factory. This accident gave Clive the plea to request the Nawab

Clive secured absolute control of E. I. Co. over saltpetre farm in Bihar from Mir Jafar; means of preventing such disputes in future. He offered the highest terms at which the farm had ever been rated. After much hesitation the Nawab agreed to the proposal "reserving the receipt of 20,000 maunds or 1,600,000 pounds weight a year for his own use." The Dutch

Opposition of the Dutch failed to check English triumph in saltpetre market.

protested against this grant, whereupon Clive produced a letter showing that they had tried

to have the farm for themselves from Sirajuddowla also. However, the English "agreed to supply them (the Dutch) with the quantity they wished to purchase." ²⁷⁹ We find in the Select Committee's Proceedings, 18th September, 1758, that the Dutch tried to create some troubles for the English farm with the help of the Raja of Betiah, whom they had satisfied by offering various presents. But the English triumphed at

²⁷⁹ Orme, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 282.



386 HISTORY OF BENGAL SUBAH

last and by the year 1759 they commanded the saltpetre market. Even then, in the year 1770, six ships of the Dutch, three bound for Batavia and three for Holland, exported full two millions and a half pounds of saltpetre.²⁸⁰

principalitation (to bilidean energy world) 280 Stavorinus, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 478-79. dewall est temperor will ever ever this ever of most enterprise of principal continues of the second vino ed en guaga el des Elegante de Calabrata - 15 for hills every To be see de silve alle 178 min il alle silve silve alle salve il del dealer test a muse of must have bed in at an elitidati -more laconmit this decree the relation of the more chart COO. J. Co. Language Co. And Confessor and Medicine done and "the manager of the same was given what or THE STATE OF THE STATE OF etal to the standard of the property of the standard of which a contract and all and provided the contract of -problem and the street of the to the profite of the Supremental Company of The State of often the chief the state of the state of to still the transmitted of the transmitted reflet, whole they had substitled by offering various presente. But the Unglish triumphed at

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITION.

SECTION I: Communications (Land and Water).

The state of communications within a country greatly influences its economic condition. The whole province of Bengal was then covered with a network or roads. Not to throughout the pro- speak of places like Calcutta, Patna, Murshidabad, and Dacca (which were connected by roads with Bhutan 1 and Nepal 2 in the north, Ganjam 3 in the south, Singbhum.4 Palamau 5 and Chotanagpur 6 in the south-west, Benares and Gazipur in the west, Betiah 8 in the north-west, Silhet,9 Jaintia and Khaspur in the north east, and Islamabad (i.e., Chittagong),10 Rajeghat, and

Rennel, Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar, pp. 11-13.

Ibid, pp. 16-17, 26.

Ibid, pp. 29-41.

Ibid, pp. 70-71.

Ibid, pp. 52-53.

Ibid, p. 40.

⁷ Vide the para. on 'Post-roads.'

⁸ Rennel, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

⁹ Ibid, p. 69. Ibid, pp. 37-38.



Julkuddar in the south-east),-even places like Burdwan or Nagore, which were not then regarded so important as the four cities " mentioned above, had important roads running from and to the different parts of the country. For example, from Burdwan there were two roads running to Chandernagore and thence to Calcutta, one to Ghyretty cantonments by Dhaniakhali, one to Tamluk, one to Buz-buz, one to Nadia, one to Jalanghi, one to Rajmahal, one to Sainpahary (Tinpahar, E.I.R. Loop), one to Lacaracondah,12 one to Radhanagore, one to Chandracona, and one to Furruckabad (a few miles above Sooty, the junction of the Ganges and the Bhagirathi). Similarly, Cassimbazar was connected by the following roads with different parts of the country. There was one from Cassimbazar to Patna,13 one to Burdwan,14 one to Jalanghi 15 and thence to

¹¹ Compare the map in Rennel's Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar.

¹² A place of note in Rennel's time,—at present a village in the district of Birbhum, a few miles from the Panchra E.I.R. Station.

¹³ Rennel, Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar, pp. 55-56.

¹⁴ Rennel's Journals, p. 98.

¹⁵ Ibid. There was a second road from Cassimbazar to Jalanghi and this passed through Gunee, Raipur, Bhagirathpur, Muhammadpur, Jalanghi.



Dacca, one to Rampur Boalia, ¹⁶ one to Meenkhot and Dinajpur; ¹⁷ one to Ballitunghee, ¹⁸ one to Birbhum, one to Maldah, one to Rungpur and thence to Rangamati and Gwalpara passing through Bowanyganj, etc; ¹⁹ one to Birkity; ²⁰ one to Jummucandy (Kandi in the Murshidabad District) and thence to Surrool (Surul near Bolpur) in the Birbhum district.²¹ Such instances may be easily multiplied.

Not only did the roads run from one important centre of a part of Bengal to other important centres in different parts but also a single district was intersected by many roads; by many roads, running from one part of it to another. As for example, there

- 16 There was also a second road from Cassimbazar to Boalia, which passed through Bally, Titalya and Murcha.
- 17 Rennel, Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar, p. 26; Rennel's Journals, p. 99.
- 18 Bellitunghee, a town on the Jalangi River, S.E. of Murshidabad, represented in the Atlas of India by two small villages. Bal'ee and Toongee.
- 19 "Bowyanygunge—would appear to be Bhabaniganj in Begmara Thana of the Rajshahi District map. Shown in Rennel's map as an important place from which a road leads to Murshidabad."—Bengal: Past and present, 1924, Vol. XXVIII, p. 192.
- At the foot of the Rajmahal Hills; a place of note in Rennel's time—at present a mere village in the Pakur Sub-division, a few miles from the Murarai E.I.Ry. Station and near Mahespur. Rennel's Journals, pp. 98-100.

21 Ibid, p. 104.



were the following cross-roads in Birbhum: -(a) from Nagore to Deoghur,22 (b) from Nagore to Comerabad (Koomrabad on the R. Mor), (c) from Nagore to Maluti,23 (d) from Nagore to Margong (Maragrama),24 (e) three roads from Nagore to Suri-(1) north road, passing through Bolio ghat, Battua, Suri-(2) middle road, through Dulebpur, Coddya, Suri, -(3) south road, through Buccesore (Bakkeswar),25 Serampurghat, Suri, (f) from Nagore to Kistnagur and Elambazar, (g) from Nagore to Supur,26 (h) from Nagore to Lacaracoddah and Ukhara, (i) from Nagore to Pachet,27 (i) from Suri to Boudgram, (k) from Suri to Gomhi, (1) from Suri to Bahary (near Surul), (m) from Suri to Surul and Supur, (n) from Suri to Curnagore (Karnagada),28 (o) from Lackanpur (a small village on the Ajay River) to Jallyne, (p) from Fatepur to Dyoucha, (q) from Purchandpur to Jummucandy (Kandi), (r) from Margong (Margram) to Noagong (Noagrama). The road

²² Rennel's Journals; Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar. Deoghur now included within the Santal Parganas.

²³ At present a village in the Dumka Sub-division.

²⁴ A village in the Rampurhat Subdivision of the Birbhum District.

²⁵ Famous for hot-wells.

^{. 26} Near Raipur, birthplace of the late Lord S. P. Sinha.

²⁷ Modern Raniganj and the surrounding places.

²⁸ Another road through Parbatipur, Manguldy, Billetty, Rupur.



from Nagore to Jangipur 20 lay through Bolioghat, Carracoondy, Puranagrama, Purchandpura, Bilas pur, Margong (Maragrama), Ningha, Badhur, Sonkoe, Mirzapur, Jangipur. 30

The most interior parts of the country were also connected by roads with the distant capital cities; these roads were constantly in use, and have been carefully noted by Rennel. For example, roads from Calcutta run to places like Patchwary s1 and Puccorcc Cutchery (modern Pakur).

Interior of Eastern Bengal was not provided with so many good roads as Western-Bengal.

The interior of the Eastern part of Bengal, especially the tract lying east of Dacca, was not provided with so many good roads as the Western part 82 owing chiefly

to the presence of numerous rivers and creeks.

But imp rtant places in that part were connected by reads with cities of note in almost every direc-

The important places in that part were, however, connected by roads with cities of note in almost every direction. As

for example, there were two roads from Calcutta

- 29 A Sub-division in the Murshidabad District.
- Rennel's Journals, pp. 104-105.
- A tract of Santal Parganas lying to the Northwest of Mahespur.
- "After leaving Barraset, we seldom found the roads good, they being excessive narrow, rough and crooked and very frequently running across paddy fields so that when the ground is ploughed there are no traces of road to be found."-Rennel's Journals, p. 87.

to Dacca; ³⁵ two roads from Calcutta to Bakarganj, the first road running through Jessore-Khulna and the second by Hobibgunge; ³¹ two roads from Calcutta to Islamabad (Chittagong), the second passing through Dacca; ³⁵ one road from Calcutta to Silhet via Dacca. ³⁶ In the tract lying

east of the Meghna river the con-Condition of roads dition of the roads was excessivebad to the east of the Meghna river. ly bad. The roads between Luckipur and Chandergunge (which was 15 miles distant from the former) were almost everywhere broken, and those between Chandergunge and Colinda (about 15 miles distant from Chandergunge) were in general very bad, the country being excessively low.87 From Colinda towards the Feny River the roads were worse.38 roads between the Feny River and Islamabad (Chittagong) were intersected by many nullahs, and as most of these were without bridges, the roads were almost impassable during the rainy season. The whole road was skirted by a range of

³⁸ Rennel. Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar, pp. 23-24.

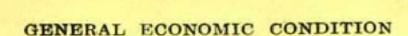
³⁴ Ibid, p. 5.

³⁵ Ibid, pp 37-38.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 69.

³⁷ Rennel's Journals. p. 75.

from Cossidya) to the banks of the Fenny is near three miles, the roads in general excessive bad."—Ibid, p. 76.



small hills to the eastward which sometimes came within half a mile of the road.⁵⁹

From Rennel we can also get an idea of the " post-roads " of the time. " ' Post-roads ' of the These were six in number runtime. ning towards different directions from Calcutta :-(1) From Calcutta to Buxar (through Chandernagore, Hugli, Culna, Plassey, Berhampur, Cassimbazar, Murshidabad, Garreah, Udayanalla, Rajmahal, Terriagully, Bhagalpur, Mongyr, Balgauda, Bar, Patna, Dinapore, Arrah, Buxar); (2) from Calcutta to Dinajpur, via Murshidabad (through Bhogwangola, crossing the Ganges at Godagarry, Nabobganj, Nishapur, Buxiganj, Dinajpur); (3) from Calcutta to Dacca (through Mullickpur, Moorley (Jessore), Mahmudpur, Hajiganj, Dacca); (4) from Calcutta to Burdwan; (5) from Calcutta to Balasore via Midnapur, Narangur, Jelasore, Balasore; (6) from Calcutta to Kulpi.

were no good roads from Calcutta towards the up
Condition of roads through the Chotanagpur hills.

Chotanagpur hills, used by

³⁹ Ibid, p. 76.

in Bengal and Bihar. Post roads were roads on which there were posts or rest houses at regular intervals for changing the horses of carriages on which travellers travelled rapidly, and which carried also the 'dāk.'



ordinary traffic, although military troops had during the 16th and 17th centuries passed through that portion. This was because the limits of efficient Mughal administration were reached with the present districts of Birbhum and Santal Parganas, and, beyond them to the West, the rest of the country was in the hands of various semi-independent native chieftains. In the early days of the East India Company this upland country was referred to by various names indicative of certain portions of the whole country, such as 'Ramgur,' 'Nagpore,' Shereghauty,' 'Bellagaut,' 'Jarakond,' etc., and up till the middle of the 18th century the country between Sherghati and Pachet (= Western Regions, i.e., Raniganj and adjacent tracts) was a blank on the map.41 But the importance of "ascertaining the most practicable way through the hills" was being gradually recognised. 42 In December 1763,

⁴¹ Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. XXVIII, 1924, pp. 21-36. 'The Grand Trunk Road—its Localities,' published in Calcutta Review, No. XLI, Vol. XXI, pp. 170-224.

In this period, the East India Company's trade through the Gangetic valley of Bihar and the hills of Santal Parganas was exposed to unfriendly attitudes (of Mir Kasim and the Marathas); on the other hand a route through Chotanagpur to Benares region would pass the states of Hindu chieftains who might welcome a new outlet for their trade and who might serve the interest of the E. I. C. as the Hindu Zamindars and traders of Bengal had just done.



Lieutenant Nicholl (who ten months later showed his gallantry at the battle of Buxar) "was sent to survey the line of road between the Karamnasa river and Calcutta and he executed the task to the great satisfaction of his commanding officers, and the manifest advantage of the Military service." In November-December 1763 a considerable body of British troops, in Major Adam's campaign against Mir Kasim, marched across the Chotanagpur plateau. In 1766 Dugloss (of the Engineers) was deputed to South Bihar to examine the passes through the hills. The road from Patna to Gaya passed via Futwah, through Parsura, Hilsa, Islampur, Bunadiganj, Manpur, Muradganj and it is important to note that in a journey

⁴³ Caraccioli. Life of Clive, Vol. I, p. 888. This military advantage consisted in the survey and establishment of an alternative, a more direct, shorter and essier (owing to absence of big rivers) route to the frontiers of Bihar and the Benares region,—which enabled the E.I.C. to be prepared for any Afghan or Maratha invasion in future. In this matter the E.I.C. was doing what Sher Shah had done in the 16th century.

⁴⁴ Bengal: Past and Present, 1924, pp. 21-36.

⁴⁵ For further details, vide ibid, pp. 21-35. Rennel in his Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar mentions one road from Calcutta to Junohpass in Chotanagpur (p. 40), one from Calcutta to Koondah (p. 41), one from Calcutta to Palamu (p. 53), two from Calcutta to Pachet (p. 52) and four roads from Calcutta to Singbhum (pp. 70-71).



from Patna to Gaya the travellers had to pay tolls in twenty-four places.46

The Ganges and the Brahmaputra with their numerous tributaries were the chief waterways throughout the country. Rennel writes:—"The Ganges and Burramooter Rivers,

together with their numerous branches and adjuncts, intersect the country of Bengal (which independent of Behar and Orissa is somewhat larger than Great Britain) in such a variety of directions, as to form the most complete and easy

inland navigation that can be conceived. So equally and admirably diffused are those natural canals, over a country that approaches nearly to a perfect plane, that, after excepting the lands contiguous to Burdwan, Birboom, etc., which may be reckoned a sixth part of Bengal, we may safely pronounce, that every other part of the country, has, even in the dry season, some navigable stream within 25 miles at farthest, and more commonly within a

dra Ghoṣāla who went on a pilgrimage in about 1767 A.D., had to pay tolls at Muradganj (for all the members of his party) amounting to Rs. 8 or Rs. 9; at Manpur the members of the party had to pay 12 pice (3 annas) each. At that time all this toll money went to the pocket of one Mādhavarāma, who had perhaps taken the road in lease for that term.



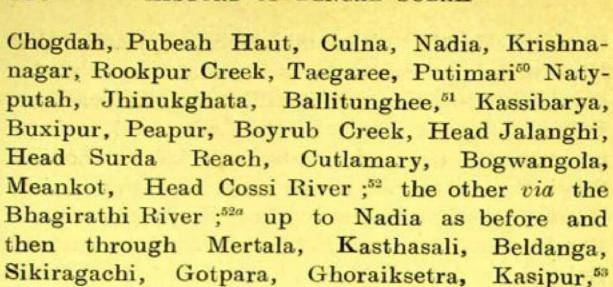
third part of that distance. It is supposed, that this inland navigation gives constant employment to 30,000 boatmen. Nor will it be wondered at, when it is known, that all the salt, and a large proportion of the food consumed by ten millions of people are conveyed by water within the Kingdom of Bengal and its dependencies. To these must be added, the transport of the commercial exports and imports, probably to the amount of two millions sterling per annum; the interchange of manufactures and products throughout the whole country; the fisheries, and the articles of travelling." 47 There were two chief water-passages from Calcutta upwards.—(1) one via Two chief water-ways from Calcutta Jalanghi River passing through 48 upwards: Ghyretty, Chinsurah, Hugli,

Kumarhatta, Kanchrapara, Somda, Niaserai, Patvagrama, Guptipara, Gokulganja, Harinadi, 49

⁴⁷ Memoir of the Map of Indostan, p. 245.

⁴⁸ Between Hugli and Calcutta there were the following ferry ghats:—(a) Cāndapālaghāṭ near the High Court, (b) Vanamālī Sarakārera Ghāṭ (Vanamālī Sarakara was a very influential man and was the Kotwal of Calcutta at that time. He had then the biggest building in Calcutta. We can compare the following:—Govindarāma Mitrera chaḍī, Vanamālī Sarakārera bāḍī, Omicāndera dāḍī, Huzurimalera kaḍi=Govindarāma Mitra's stick, Vanamālī Sarkāra's house, Omicānd's beard, Huzurimal's wealth); (c) Bāgbāzār Ghāṭ, (d) Mālīr Ghāt.—Vijayarāma's Tīrthamangala, pp. 18-21.

⁴⁹ This village was situated two miles from Santipur in



the Nadia District. Greater part of it has been swallowed by the Ganges, the only remains being the village Bhāt-śālā which also has been removed 1 mile from Ganges. Tirthamangala, p. 27, footnote.

Agradvip, Dñāihaţ,54 Matiarī,55 Barbazar, Katwah,

- 50 Ferry Ghațs between Nadia and Putimari:—(a) Gowădir Ghăt (near Krishnanagar).
- (b) Hňādar Ghāṭ (Hňādā, a village to the north of Krishnanagar).— Tīrthamaṅgala, pp. 30-31.
 - 51 'Tungībālī' in Vijayarāma's Tīrthamangala, p. 34.
 - 52 Rennel's Journals, pp. 118-20.
 - 52ª Ibid.
- 53 Ghoraiksetra is three miles to the north, and Kāśipur two miles to the south-east of Agradvīp.
- 54 A famous place in the Indrani pargana of the Burdwan District.
- 55 A big village situated just opposite to Dñāihāţ, famous for the images of Rāma and Sītā. Raghunandan Mitra, the Dewan of Mahārājā Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia, founded here twelve Siva images.—Tīrthamangala, p. 194, footnote.



Plassey, Mahata,⁵⁶ Syamnagar,⁵⁷ Chumrigacha,⁵⁸ Khidirpur,⁵⁹ Saydabad, Kassimbazar, Dahapara, Sūāikulī, Murshidabad, Jiaganj, Saddekbari,⁶⁰ Bellyah, Laksipur, (modern Laksichar), Jungipur, Durgapur (modern Fateullapur),⁶¹ Sahebghata, Sooty.⁶² From Sooty the route lay through the Ganges proper, passing by the following places:—Farakkabad, Khajuria,⁶³ Kasyaban, Udayanala, Rajmahal, Sakrigaly, Terrigully, Pirpainti, Sahabaj, Patharghatta, Colong, Bhagalpur, Sultanganj, Jahangera, Mongyr, Surajgara, Darriarpur, Punarak, Barh,⁶⁴ Bykuntpur, Futwah,

- 56 A big village in pargana Fatesing of the Murshidabad District, situated 5 miles to the south of Syamnagur.
 - 57 Situated 2 miles to the south of Satui.
- 58 Now known as Chowrigacha situated about 8 miles to the South of Gorabazar in the Murshidabad District.
 - 59 Five miles to the south of Gorabazar.
- 60 Vijayarama's Sādakbāg'; it is now in the bed of the Bhagirathi. Perhaps this place was named after Sadak Ali Khan (Miran, son of Mir Jaiar).
- 61 Now known as Fatepur, situated two miles to the south of Sooty.
- ⁶² Rennel's Journals, pp. 118-20; Vijayarāma's Tirthamangala, pp. 180-201.
- 63 At present there is a ferryghat at Khajuria. This place falls within the Nayansuk Mahal of the Pakur Raj (S.P.).
- 64 Vijayarāma refers to the heavy exaction of tolls in the 'chowki' at Barh, which ied to a serious altercation between the men of his party and the sepoys stationed there.—Tirthamangala, pp. 58-60.

Patna.65 In the water-passage from Calcutta to Dacca, one had to go first to the Head Jalanghi (or Padma) river (as before); then From Calcutta to down the Ganges to Pubna, and Dacca. through the Ichhamati river to Jaffarganj and along Dhaleswari to Dacca.66 Dacca Dacca to Gwalpara the water-Gwalpara; from Dacca to Silhet. route lay up the Lakhmia (Luckya) river and along the old Brahmaputra.67 The route from Dacca to Silhet was through the Buriganga, Little Meghna, and Surma rivers.68

The large number of tributary rivers, nulluhs and creeks, running almost and creeks, running almost through rivers, through every part of the province, especially East Bengal, afforded excellent means of communications through which even the interior villages were always within the easy reach of travellers or merchants. Rennel observed:—"The Kingdom

A PARENTE DE LE PRESENTATION DE LA CONTRACTION DEL CONTRACTION DE LA CONTRACTION DE

⁶⁵ Rennel's Journals, pp. 118-20; Vijayarāma's Tīr-thamangala, pp. 36-37.

⁶⁶ Rennel's Journals, pp. 118-20.

of the Baramputy and falls into the Issamutey a few miles below Dacca after sending out a navigable Creek which leads to Dacca and thereby allows a much shorter passage from that city to Chilmary and Gwalpura than any of the branches of the Meghna."—Ibid, p. 46.

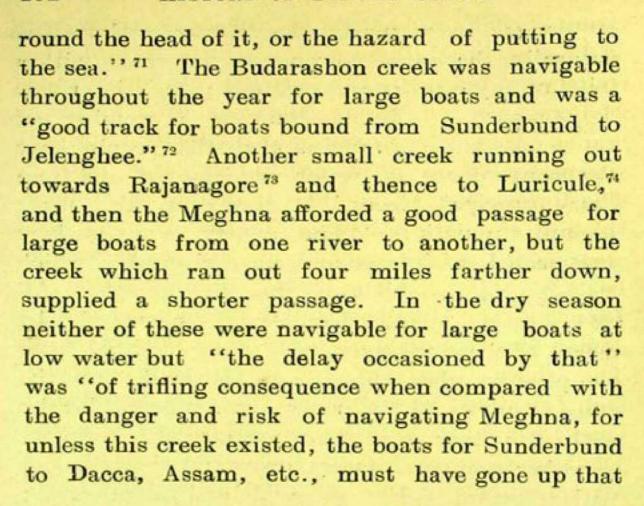
⁶⁸ Ibid.



of Bengal, particularly the Eastern Front is naturally the most convenient for trade within itself of any country in the world; for the rivers divide into just a number of Remark of Rennel. Branches that the people have the convenience of water carriage to and from every principal places."69 Stavorinus also made a similar remark :-- "The country is everywhere intersected, with large and broad channels, which all run into the Ganges. All Remark of Stavorinus. merchandise is conveyed, by means of these passages, with great facility, from one place to other, throughout the land, and the chief branches of the river communicate hereby with each other They are agreeably bordered on either side, with many towns and villages, and with pleasant fields, of arable and pasture-land; which renders the face of the country very beautyful. Among these channels, there are some, which are wide and deep enough, to be navigable for large ships." 70 The numerous The canals in the canals in the Sunderbans were Sunderbans. "so disposed as to form a complete navigation throughout and across the lower part of the Delta without either the delay of going

⁶⁹ An unpublished Letter of Major James Rennel, dated Bengal, August 31st, 1765, printed in Bengal: Past and Present, July-September, 1933.

⁷⁰ Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. 1, p. 399.



⁷¹ Rennel, Memoir of the Map of Indostan, p. 259.

Rennel's Journals, p. 31. In course of his journey from Calcutta to Jalanghi, Rennel saw salt-boats (boats carrying salt from the seaboard to Patna and other towns on the Ganges) sunk near Gowgatty and Bickrygunge. Ibid, p. 12.

Built by Raja Rajballabh, who flourished in the second quarter of the 18th century. *Ibid*, Appendix 'A,' p. 135.

[&]quot;Lurricule, once a remarkable village lies almost halfway betwixt the Ganges and Meghna, is about 28 miles S ½ W from Dacca, 3 ESE from Rajanagore. Here are the ruins of a Portuguese Church and of many brick houses." Rennel's Journals, p. 39.



river." The Kobbatuck or Kobaduck river (an offshoot of the Mathabhanga), which formed the boundary between the districts of Nadia, the 24-Peraganas and Jessore and was said to be a branch either of the Comer or of the Icchamati river. was navigable up to Sunderbans for large boats.76 The Burashee river, another branch of the Comer (passing through the present Jessore district), was also navigable throughout the year for very large boats. The common route from Kusthia to Jaynagore and Hobbygunge lay through the Lethydoman (or eastmost branch of the Kusthia creek).78 The shortest passage from Hajiganj to Dacca and Luckipur was provided by the Nawabganj creek, which by joining the Ichhamati and the Dhaleswari rivers about Feringybazar sent out several branches, and was navigable throughout the year. 79 The Ichhamati river was navigable all the year for large boats. A small creek runing out of the Dhaleswari river at Sapur up to the Ichhamati river was navigable throughout the

⁷⁵ Ibid. These creeks were almost due west of Chandpur. Their position is now mainly occupied by the united waters of the Ganges and the Meghna.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 89.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 91.

⁷⁸ This route was of use only "when the rivers have rose enough to make it navigable which commonly happens about the latter end of May." Rennel's Journals, p. 22.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 28.

year for boats of a moderate size. The Karnaphuli river afforded a water passage from Chittagong for nearly 50 miles up to Rangamati. Opposite to the north-west point of Hajiganj a large creek ran out to the southward and southeast making the shortest passage to Habiganj from that part of the country. This creek was navigable all the year for large boats.80 The Durgapur creek running opposite Barisal to the eastward afforded the common route from Luckipur to Bakarganj si and the Buriganga river, on which Dacca was situated, was navigable in the dry season for large boats.82 At Allynya83 a branch of the Meghna turned off to the south-east and fell into the great Meghna again at Chandpur, after taking a course of about 24 miles; this branch named the Panghia was navigable all the year for large boats. Two miles above Allynya a large creek fell into the Meghna on the east side; this was commonly called the little Meghna and afforded the shortest passage to Silhet and Asmarygunge.84 From Baganbary 85 a small

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 29.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 36.

⁸² Ibid, p. 40.

^{83 &}quot;A small village close to Daundkandi, where the road from Dacca to Comillah leaves the river." Rennel's Journals, p. 44.

⁸⁴ Ibid. Asmarygunge, a large village on the Surma in the Silhet district, about 80 miles north-east of Dacca.

⁸⁵ Baganbary,—spelt Bygonbarry in Rennel's map.

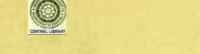


creek fell into the Luckya river during the rainy season, and allowed a much safer passage for boats than the latter. Besides the Ganges, the Atri or Atrai river afforded a passage from Jalanghi to Dacca, but the passage through the Ganges was 10 miles shorter. The breadth of the Atri river was from 150 to 300 yards, and depth sufficient for the largest boats during the dry season. The passage by water from Hajiganj to Dacca was about 69 miles in the months of February and March. The route was through Meggala creek and into the Ichhamati at Kardupur; then by way of Nawabganj and Churan; through Tulsi creek and into the Dhaleswari by Tagarpur and Fatllylur and up the Buriganga to Dacca. Se

It is equivalent to Maimansingh or Nasirabad, the headquarters of the Maimansingh district. Baiganbary is mentioned by Hunter as a village with a large indigo factory near Gobindganj about 5 miles N. W. of Maimansingh. Stat. Acc. Bengal, Vol. V, p. 415.

- 86 Rennel's Journals, p. 47.
- 87 "This Creek, which leaves the Ganges at Pubna now goes by the name of the Ichhamati in some places and of the Atrai in others." Rennel's Journals, p. 81, footnote 8.
- able to the Ganges, on account of their being good tracking ground all the way, and few sands; but in going down with the stream the other is preferable." Ibid, pp. 81-82.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 193.



Similarly, the northern part of Bengal was also provided with water-routes through the Teesta river, the Manas creek, the Ghagat creek, the Purnabhaba river, and the Dherla or Durla river with their branches. The Ghagat creek was navigable for boats of 150 maunds till the month of January; the Dherla river was navigable all the year for boats of 2,000 maunds between Kurigram and the great river Brahmaputra. It separated the paraganas of Baharbund and

our (spelt Oliapur in Rennel's map, plate 44, part 2, equivalent to modern Ulipur, head-quarters of a thana of that name and still the seat of the principal cutchery of the 'Baharbund' Zamindar. Bengal: Past and Present, 1924. Vol. XXVIII, p. 192) at a small village named Tytari (probably the Totirea of the Rungpur district map); after this its course is more to the North-west. About a mile and half west from Tytari crossed the Monnas creek which is now fordable, its course is to the ESE, joining the Teesta at Calygunge." Rennel's Journals, p. 54. The Manas creek was one of the numerous branches of the Teesta and not the larger Manas or Banas of Assam. Ibid, footnote 5.

⁹¹ The Ghagat, formerly a branch of the Teesta, but now silted up at its head.

The Purnabhaba River lies considerably to the west in the Dinajpur District, and was at that time one of the main branches of the Teesta.

⁹³ Kurigram, on the right bank of the Dherla river in the Rungpur District.



'Vittrebund' and joined the Brahmaputra at Baggoa.⁹⁴

Thus, there was no want of means of commu-No want of means nication throughout the counof communications;— try, 95 including even the most interior corners. Perhaps it was this which led

- 94 Spelt Bugwah in the Rungpur District map. Rennel's *Journals*, pp. 54-55. It may be noted here that the roads between Rungpur and Kurigram were very rough, especially in the neighbourhood of the latter.
- 95 Time ordinarily required in travelling from one place to another, by iand routes or water-routes:—
 - (a) From Patna to Jalanghi, 20 days by boats.
- (b) From Maudapur (at the head of the Chandna or Chunnah river) to Bhusna on the Barasia, a little to the east of Muhammadpur, 3 days through the Chunnunah and Comer Creeks. Rennel's Journals, p. 123.
- (c) From Moanpur on the Chunnunah to Habiganj, 4 days by land.
 - (d) From Calcutta to Kusthia, 6 days by land.
 - (e) From Kusthia to Culna, 10 days by boat.
 - (f) From Kusthia to Jaynagore, 8 days by boat.
- (g) From Hajiganj to Habiganj, 1 day by boat, $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 days by land.
- (h) Mola (a small village on the Ganges above the mouth of Chandna River), from Hajiganj 1 day by boat, from Dacca 3 days by boat, from Jalanghi 3 days by boat, from Pabna 1 day by boat, from Jalanghi 1½ days by land.
- (i) Amidabads (Ahmirabads of the Bengal Atlas, a paragara of the Noakhali District), from Luckipur 14 days by land, from Hajiganj 3 prahars ('Hind. Pahar or Pour is



Mr. Dow to observe:—" The easy communication by water from place to place, facilitated a mercantile intercourse among the inhabitants. Every village has its canal,

strictly a measure of time equal to a fourth part of the day and of the night.' Hobson-Jobson, p. 736.)

- (j) Bakarganj, from Culna 3 days. Sewtylewry from Culna ½ day, Govindapur from Culna 1 day, Buckinagore from Culna 1½ days.
- (k) From Sihenpur to Dacca, 1 day by land; from Latanagore to Dacca, 1 day.
- (l) From Habetnagore (probably Hybutnagar, close to Kishorganj of Atlas of India, sheet 125) to Bangram 5 prahars: to Lilliedapur 1 prahar, to Asmanygunge 4 days, to Akrasonda 3 days, to Silhet 5 days; to Dalalpur 3 days.
- (m) From Jangalbari to Adampur, 2 days by water, 1 day by land; to Osunpur 1½ days; to Asmarygunge 1½ days, to Silhet 7 days.
- (n) From Dellipara to Asmetygunge 3 prahars, to Dalalpur 3 prahars; to Akarsonda 1 day; to Adampur 1 day (by dingi boat); to Abdulpur 2 prahars by land and 1 day by water; to Silhet 6 days.
- (o) From Kurigram to Chilmari one day's journey for a cossid.
- (p) "Rungpur was 4 days cossid from Muxadavad (Murshidabad)." Rennel's Journals, pp. 123-30.
- (q) Vansittart left Patna on 5th January, 1763, arrived at Mongyr on 9th January and reached Cassimbazar on 14th January. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 184-87.
- (r) Vansittart proceeded in a light boat from Cassimbazar on 16th January, 1763, and reached Calcutta on the 18th of that month. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 194.



GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITION

every Perganah its river and the whole kingdom the Ganges, which falling by various mouths, into the Bay of Bengal lay open the ocean for the export of commodities and manufacturers." Now the usual statement that the want of communications at the end of the Mughal and the beginning of the British period made the villages economically independent

Explanation of economic isolation of the villages; and self-sufficient units becomes irreconcilable with the foregoing facts, which clearly show that

the internal communications of the country were not very defective. We have already seen that there were roads connecting the important centres of the province with places in the extreme interior. Rennel carefully noted many places of importance along these roads. It is clear that the villages of Bengal, where nature was lavish in her bounties and where the leisure of agriculturists is recorded to have been given to manufactures, had surplus produce and manufactures over and above their necessary consumption; but even if these surplus commodities be supposed not to have been carried from one part of the country to

⁹⁶ Dow's Hindoostan, Vol. I, cii.

⁹⁷ Such places have now sunk into insignificance and many of them are no better than ordinary villages, e.g., Lacaracondah in the 'Burdwan to Lacaracondah road,' Birkity in the 'Calcutta to Patchwary Road.' Vide ante.

⁹⁷ª Vide later.

another, the villages being economically isolated

-economic isolation not due to the want of means of communications; from one another, it would be due not to the want of means of communications, but to some other factors which the unstable

and insecure political conditions of the time had produced. If there was a self-sufficiency at all, it was forced on them and was not a normal condition of their existence. The weakening of the central authority had increased the rapacity of the Mugs 98 and the Portuguese pirates, and the frequent incursions of the Marathas 99 into the heart of Bengal had made commerce unsafe; the same weakening had led to the growth of numerous economic barriers set up by zamindars and other local powers. Perhaps it was the necessity for the defence against these dangers, the fear of losing their merchandise in the hands of the plunderers or brigands, and the dimensions that the tolls had reached, together with the extortions and corruptions in internal trade, that drove the village within its shell and fostered internal cohesion and unity within it. Commerce came to be

December 4, 1752; Letter to Court, January 10, 1758, para. 97; Letter to Court, December 31, 1758, para. 84; Bolts' Considerations, p. 163, footnote.

⁹⁹ Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇa, lines 230-44 (Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, Vol. XIII, Part IV, p. 220). Vide the chapter on "Commercial Relations."



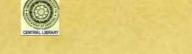
monopolised by those only who could withstand such dangers (like the European Companies and their clients or up-country adventurers like the Sikhs, the Marwaris, the Rajputs, etc.) and the poor villagers had to remain satisfied within the limits of their villages accepting only 'dadans' and suffering for that. What was at first accepted out of necessity at last grew into a habit, as the weak government of the Nawabs, followed by the double government's misrule, gave a free scope to the growth of these evils. Thus, weakness of the central authority, want of strong governance in the country, the ravages of the -probable causes of Marathas, the Mugs and other economic isolation of the villages. bandits and robbers, and the avaricious habits of the Company's servants might be regarded as probable causes for the economic

A few words may be added with regard to the conveyances used at that time. Bullock carts 100 and

isolation of the villages from one another.

^{100 (}a) "He selected a few carts for carrying on his articles." Vijayarāma's Tīrthamangala, p. 67.

⁽b) "Putting young lady (Lutf-un-nisa) with her mother in his own Rutt or covered carriage he (Siraj) had set out for that place (Azimabad) being drawn by an excellent pair of these oxen, that make usually thirty or forty cosses a day." Ser-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 94. Haji Mustafa, the translator of Seir-ul-Mutakherin, had himself seen those oxen, when they were presented later on



palanquins 101 were of very common use on land. Sometimes, the palanquins were richly adorned and were sold at high prices. In 1757 the Council in Calcutta resolved to purchase a palanquin set with silver tassels, for the use of the Cassimbazar factory, on Rs. 400.102 Besides horses 103 and elephants, camels were used for travelling purposes in certain parts of Bihar. Kṛṣṇacandra Ghoṣāla, the hero of Vijayarāma's Tīrthamangala, hired two camels for two hundred rupees in course of his journey from Patna to Gaya.104 Boats of various kinds were used in journeys or transports through rivers. 105 In his journey from Calcutta to Murshidabad in 1760 A.D., Governor Vansittart paid '3 budgerows' at Rs. 3 per day, 20 hoolucks of 6 oars at 28 rupees

by Mirjafar to Mr. Watts, and out of curiosity, he had measured their amazing bulk and height.

- 101 "He went quickly on a palanquin." Tirthaman-gala, p. 67. Long, op. cit., p. 54; Consultations, November, 1758.
 - 102 Proceedings, February 28, 1757.
- 103 Rāmaprasāda refers to coaches or carriages drawn by a pair of horses:—"A pair of horses, attached to a carriage, jump and run quickly and can go ten miles a day." Rāmaprasāda, op. cit., p. 69 B.E.
 - 104 Tirthamangala, p. 67.
- 105 Stavorinus, Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, pp. 464-68. "Price of Calcutta Boats of 90 mds. Hire per month 4 dandies Rs. 12, one Mangey (majhi=steersman) Rs. 4." Rennel's Journals, p. 123.



per month, 22 hoolucks of 8 oars at Rs. 38 per month, 12 hoolucks of 10 oars at Rs. 40 per month, 2 hoolucks of 4 oars at Rs. 24 per month. We find in the list of the Governor's travelling charges in 1763 that he hired three budgerows of ten oars at Rs. 10 each per month. 107

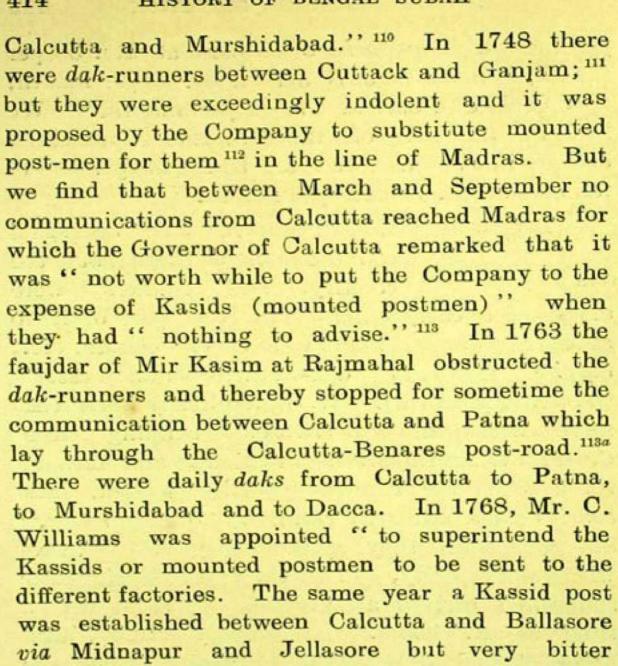
There were arrangements for daks or postal communications throughout the Postal Communicacountry, and runners tions. employed to carry letters from one part of it to another. Those runners were of two classes, viz., (ordinary dak-runners) and cassids tappies (mounted postmen). We have already seen that there were six 'post-roads' running from Calcutta to six important directions, and through these roads the runners usually passed. The cassids could ordinarily run 25 to 30 miles a day, 108 but sometimes they could manage to "travel with great rapidity, and letters from Cassimbazar sometimes arrived at Calcutta in as short time as 27 hours. Accordingly Mr. Watts' letter of 2nd June (1756), saying that the Nabob had arrived at Cassimbazar reached Calcutta next day." 109 Early in 1758 cassids were "fixed at the different stages between

¹⁰⁶ Proceedings, November 25, 1760.

¹⁰⁷ Proceedings, March 14, 1763.

¹⁰⁸ Repnel's Journals, p. 131.

¹⁰⁹ Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. I, p. 126.



¹¹⁰ Proceedings of the Select Committee, 18th February, 1758.

were the complaints of the postmen of the

¹¹¹ Cf. Calcutta to Gunjam Road in Rennel's Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar, pp. 29-31.

¹¹² Consultations, February, 1748 A.D.

¹¹³ Long's Selections: Introduction, LIII.

¹¹³ª Proceedings, 30th June, 1763 A.D.



difficulty in procuring oil and the almost impassable jungles they had to tread." Ordinarily letters from Murshidabad reached Calcutta within 2 to 4 days, though, as has been already noted, under exceptional circumstances these could be sent more quickly; from Balasore letters reached Calcutta within 7 or 8 days. Rangpur was "four days' cassid from Muxadavad (Murshidabad)." A cassid usually took one day to run from Kurigram to Chilmari (the intervening distance between the two places being 30 miles) and from Rungpur to Kurigram (the intervening distance between the

- 114 (a) "On the 20th we received a letter from Mr. Luke Scrafton, dated the 18th inst......" Proceedings of the Select Committee, 22nd February, 1758, Firminger's Bengal Historical Records (1758), p. 12.
- (b) "In consequence of your letter of the 24th ult. (i.e., September) which I duly received on the 29th at Cassimbazar, I returned here the 5th inst." Letter from J. Brohier to Drake, Proceedings, Oct. 13, 1757 A.D. It would thus appear that a distance of about 150 miles was covered in 2 days; this would be impossible under any other postal system, except regular relay and of horsepost or post-coaches. Compare what has already been noted about post-roads."
- 115 (a) "We this day received a letter from John Burdett at Ballasore, dated the 1st instant advising of his....." Proceedings, December 8, 1759 A.D.
- (b) "Received two letters from Mr. Charles Stafford Playdell at Ballasore, dated the 17th and 18th February." Select Committee's Proceedings, 24th February, 1758 A.D. Firminger, Bengal H. R., p. 16.



two places being about 25 or 30 miles).116 The Zamindars and the people of those parts of the country, through which the daks or postmen passed, had to supply them with provisions and other necessary articles. The Nawab of Bengal wrote to the President of the Council in Calcutta on 30th September, 1764:-" Dawks have from of old been stationed from Choonacolly to Jellasore to bring news from these parts. At present, according to the ancient custom Bunmolly (Vanamali) is appointed chief of the dawks, and I accordingly wrote to you some time ago to desire that you give orders to the Zemindars, fowzedars and other officers of Burdwan and Midnapur, etc., to supply the said dawks with necessaries." 117 Francis Sykes, Resident at the Nawab's darbar, wrote to the Secret Committee in Calcutta on 31st October, 1765 :- "Representations of late have been made to me by the Zemindars of different villages, that the King (the Mughal Emperor) is fixing Dawks from Illahabad (Allahabad) to this place, and Calcutta; that it will be a very great borthen (burden) to the inhabitants in many parts of the country if they are under a necessity of supporting them with the usual necessaries having already both the Company's and the Nabob's Dawks to provide for and request they may be relieved from so heavy a grievance." 118

¹¹⁶ Rennel's Journals, p. 131.

¹¹⁷ Mindapur District Records, p. 18.

¹¹⁸ Bolts, Op. Cit., Appendix, p. 142.

CENTRAL LIBRAR

SECTION II: Manufacture, Industries and Handicrafts.

Bengal being provided with many avenues for

Bengal rich in the production and manufacture of commercial goods. trade, was also rich in the production of commercial goods. She produced "cloth of all kinds, most beautiful muslins,

silk, raw or worked." It has been already noted in the chapter on 'English Factories and Investments' how there was a great demand for Bengal manufactures in the markets of England and other European as well as Asiatic countries and in the other provinces of India itself. The Select Committee in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 26th of September, 1767:—"Its (Bengal's)

High demand for Bengal manufactures in Europe, Asia and other provinces of India. manufactures found their way to the remotest parts of Hindostan and specie flowed in by thousand channels that are at

present (1767) lost and obstructed." Of course agriculture formed an important occupation of the bulk of the people, but "the vacation from agriculture," as Mr. Orme has remarked, left "a

¹ Hill, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 216. Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim, f. 113a.

much greater number of the inhabitants, than can be spared in others, at leisure to apply themselves to the loom. So that more cotton and silk are manufactured in Bengal than in thrice the same extent of country throughout the empire and consequently at much cheaper rates. The greater part of these manufactures and of the raw silk, is exported; and Europe receives the largest share; the rest goes by land and sea to different parts of the Empire." Thus in Bengal agriculture and

Agriculture and manufactures went hand in hand in Bengal. manufactures went hand in hand.
In different parts of the province the weavers produced silk
and cotton cloths of various

qualities (superfine, fine, etc.). Rightly did Mr. Pattullo remark that the "demands for Bengal manufactures can never lessen, in regard that their quality is so peculiar to that country, that

² Orme, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 4. In modern times the main defect of Indian agriculture is just the absence of this employment of leisure to manufactures. Our agriculturists are occupied only for a part of the year, the rest of it being spent in idleness, intemperance, and unthrifty pursuits. Neither is there intensive scientific production engaging all the time and energies of the cultivators and their families for the whole year, nor is the leisure of all, who live on the soil, devoted to textile industries like silk, cotton, linen, etc. From this standpoint the muchabused * Carkā' creed has in it an element of economic sanity.

MANUFACTURE, INDUSTRIES AND HANDICRAFTS 419

no nation on the globe can either equal or rival

The weaving manufactories "were dispersed throughout the country " and a distinct kind was woven in each district.4 Some important towns like Maldah, Harial, Serpur, Balikushi and Cogmari within the Zamindari of Rāṇī Bhavāṇī of Natore were famous for manufacturing the following species of piecegoods: -(a) "for the Europe markets, cossaes (khas = cloth with diagonal patterns), elatches, hummums, chowtahs (or chautanis = sheets folded four times),5 ootally, Localisation of soosiess (susi or stripped finemanufactured goods. coloured fabrics), seersuchers; (b) for the markets of Bussorah, Mocha, Jidda, Pegu, Acheen and Malaca, the different sorts of cossaes, baftas ("woven"-cotton stuffs), saunoose, mulmulls, tanjebs (tanjib = a kind of fine muslin), kenchees, etc." From the aurungs at Rungpur, Goraghat,7 Santose Buddal, all being situated within the zamindari of the Raja of Santose, the English East India Company was supplied with sannoes, malmals (fine plain muslins),

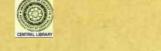
³ Pattuloo, An Essay upon improving and cultivating Bengal, p. 25. London, 1772.

⁴ Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 474.

⁵ Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India (1880), p. 246.

⁶ Holwell, I. H. E., p. 193.

⁷ The author of Hadiqal-ul-Aqalim (f. 115b) refers to the manufacture of silk cloths at Goraghat.



and tanjibs.8 The towns like Burdwan, Khirpai, Radhanagore, Dewanganj and Balligissagur, all situated within the zamindari of Raja Tilakchand of Burdwan, manufactured the following sortments of piece-goods, viz., dooreas (stripped cloths), terrendams (tarandam), cuttanies, soosies, soot romals, gurrahs, sestersoys, santon coupees, cherriderries,, chilys custas, doosootas (dosuti =coarse cotton cloth), and several places of lesser importance within his jurisdiction manufactured other inferior sortments of cloth, as seerbunds, gullabunds, etc.9 Silk and cotton cloths of a rather inferior quality were manufactured within the Bankura district, specially near Vishnupur,10 and the East India Company was provided with a large quantity of gurrahs from Elambazar, the "principal town of trade" within the Birbhum district.11 Various kinds of muslin and other cotton cloths were manufactured at Midnapur. We find the following species of piecegoods in the list of goods to be provided at Midnapur for the year 1763:—(1) charconnaes (cārkhānā) - chequered muslins, 500 pieces; chucklaes (cāklās)—mixed silk and cotton—1,000 pieces; no piece of gingham; niallaes (blue cloth)-

⁸ Holwell, I.H.E., p. 194.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 195-96.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 200.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 202.



(a) ordinary, 2,000 pieces, (b) fine and (c) superfine, 2,000 pieces; peniascoes (according to Birdwood made of pineapple fibre) 12-1,000 pieces; sannoes (' san,' i.e., flaxen or linen cloch)13-(a) Ballasore, 500 pieces, (b) of midling prices, 500 pieces, (c) fine and thick, 500 pieces, sursuchers (turbans=sira-sekhara), 200 pieces; shalbasta (śāla-prastha, shawls), 600 pieces. It was further written: "If you have any other species of goods not mentioned here you may send us two or three pieces of them for a sample. You must take care in all coloured goods that the colours may be light and lively. Gurrahs and other calicoes for printing, hummums excepted, are in good demand for want of long cloths. We, therefore, recommend it to your particular attention for a supply of these articles over beyond what we have ordered till you hear from the choramandel (Coroniandel) of that we can be supplied with a large quantity of long cloths, by which information you are to govern yourself." At Balasore and Pipli were produced "manufactures of cotton in

¹² Cactus fibres were used for coarse cloths even in 19th century in Hijl coast (Midnapur) and elsewhere, where cactus of different varieties grew wild. 'Paniasco' apparently represents a Bengali or Oriya original 'Panasika' or 'Panaska,' meaning 'woven out of panasa or pine-apple fibres (of the cactus class).'

^{13 &#}x27;Sāṇī,' linen, is known as early as Vedic literature.

¹⁴ Midnapur District Records, pp. 8-9.

sanis (sanus), casses (khesis=wrappers or robes), dimities, mulmuls, silk romals, and romals of silk and cotton; gurrahs and lungies ("head and waist cloths" according to Birdwood)." 15

Radhanagore was "famous for manufacturing cotton cloths and silk romals and handkerchiefs." 16 Coarse blue handkerchiefs were manufactured at Baranagore, near Calcutta.17 Certain places in Birbhum (the most important being Elambazar) were centres of cloth manufacture.18 Nadiā Murshidabad were especially famous for the manufacture of various kinds of cotton and silk cloths. Malmals, cossaes and other species of cloths were manufactured in places like Santipur, Barran, etc., within the zamindari of Raja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadiā, for the markets of Europe.19 Grose remarks that "the country about it (Cassimbazar) was very fertile, and the inhabitants remarkably industrious, being employed in many useful manufactures. They generally furnish 22,000 bales of silk a year, each bale weighing 100 lbs. They have also tassaties, and the most beautiful cotton cloths of the country." 20

¹⁵ Abbe de Guoyn, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 496-97.

Abbe de Guoyn, op. cit.. Vol. 11, p. 498.

¹⁷ Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 519.

¹⁸ Holwell, I. H. E., pp. 201-202.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 202.

²⁰ Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. II, p. 240.



Stavorinus also gives a similar description.21 We find in the letters from the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 8th and the 13th of December, 1759, that the former required two lacs of rupees only for purchasing 'November Bund' raw silk. Similarly in the year 1763 they asked for 9 lacs of rupees as advances for puchasing silk. Rennel wrote about Cassimbazar :- "Cossimbazar is the general market of Bengal silk and a great quantity of silk are manufactured here, which are circulated throughout great part of Asia; of the unwrought silk, 300,000 or 400,000 lbs. weight is consumed in the European manufactories." Stavorinus notes that " printed cottons, commonly called chintzes (chits)" were "not manufactured" Bengal "except near Patna, in the province of Bahar," which were called "from the name of the place - Patna chintzes." 22

But of all the places in Bengal, Dacca occupied the premier position of Dacca in the manufacture of fine muslins and cotton cloths of different species.

Rennel has remarked that Dacca

had "a vast trade in muslins; and manufactures the most delicate one, among those that are so

²¹ Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 472-73.

²² Ibid, p. 464.

²³ Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 474.

much sought after in Europe." 24 The author of Ryaz-us-salatin has noted that 'white muslin' was "excellently manufactured there." 25 Weaving work was carried on, more or less, in almost every village of the Dacca district but the important . places where musli ns were manufactured were the cities of Dacca, Sunargong, Dumroy, Teetbari (situated on the eastern side of the river Luckia), Junglebari (lying on the eastern side of the Bramhaputra river) and Bazetpur 26 (about 18 miles from Junglebari) Sunargong was famous for muslins of thin texture and also for flowered fabrics. The author of Ryaz-us-salatin has remarked :- " A species of very fine muslin is manufactured there. And in the Mouza of Kathrahsunder there is a reservoir of water; whatever cloths are washed there are turned into white linen." 27 Dumroy which stood on the river Bunsi, a branch of the Bramhaputra, about 20 miles west of Dacca, supplied the weavers with the greater part of the fine thread required for the Dacca looms.28 Besides those places, muslins of various kinds were manufactured in Moorapara, Babapara and other villages on the banks of the

²⁴ Memoir of the Map of Industan, p. 61.

²⁵ p. 40.

²⁶ A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture at Dacca by a Resident, p. 4.

²⁷ p. 40.

²⁸ A Descriptive and Historical Account, etc., p. 8.



MANUFACTURE, INDUSTRIES AND HANDICRAFTS 425

Luckia river and mixed cotton and silk cloths at Abdullapur in Bikrampur paragana.29 Coarse fabrics were produced at Kalokopa in Dacca, and Jalalpur, Narainpur, Chandpur and Serampur in Tipperah. 80

The looms at Dacca produced cloths of various degrees of quality, "ranging from the fine gossamer muslin, the attire of the inmates of the zananas of native princes, down to coarse thick wrapper worn by the poor ryot." Stavorinus remarks: "Muslins are sometimes wove so fine, that a piece of twenty yards in length, and longer, can be inclosed in a common pocket tobacco box. The whole is done with a very trifling apparatus and Europeans are surprised to behold the perfection of manufacture, which is exemplified here in almost every handicraft, effected with so few and such imperfect tools." 32 In the letter from the Court of Directors to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 19th of December, 1755, the following species of cloths are referred to as being manufactured at Dacca: sarbatis (semi-transparent like a glass of 'serbat,'-fruit-juice), malmals, alaballies,

²⁹ Ibid, p. 9.

³⁰ Ibid.

Ibid, p. 41. 31

Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 413. "A common sized Dutch tabacco-box, such as they wear in the poket, is about eight inches long, half as broad, and about an inch deep." Ibid, p. 413, foot-note.



tanjeeb, terrindams, nainsooks ('pleasure of the eyes,') seerbandeonnaes, dooreas (striped muslins), jamdanies (figured muslins), etc. In the letter to the Court of Directors from the Bengal Council, dated the 27th of January, 1749, we find the names of the kinds of cloths manufactured in different places in Bengal; these have been duly noted in connection with the respective places in the chapter on 'English Factories and Investments.' It may be added here that Islamabad (Chittagong) also supplied the Company with cloths. The Council in Calcutta wrote to Mr.

Cloths supplied from Chittagong and Collinda. Verelst at Chittagong on the 28th of September, 1761: "We with pleasure observe the good

qualities of the cloth you have sent us the care you have taken in the improvement of our manufactures." A prodigious quantity of coarse cloths was manufactured near about the English factory at Collinda.⁸⁴

Each variety of muslin was manufactured at

Dacca muslins,—
'fine,' 'superfine,' 'fine
superfine,' plain, striped, chequered, figured
or coloured.

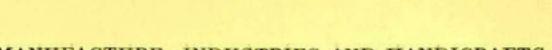
Dacca by "fabrics of three or four assortments or degrees of quality," which were distinguished at the Company's fac-

tory by the "terms 'ordinary,' 'fine,' 'superfine,' and 'fine superfine.' " 85 The muslins were plain,

³³ Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. XXVII, p. 20.

³⁴ Rennel's Journals, p. 75.

³⁵ A Descriptive and Historical Account, etc., p. 42.



striped, chequered, figured or coloured.36 Dacca was famous for embroidery and flowering works on cloths. We have already seen 37 that there are many references in the contemporary records about

Embroidery flowering works on cloths.

cloths being sent by the Company from Calcutta to Dacca for embroidery and flowering work.

From Dacca," wrote Abbe de Guyon in 1744, " come the best and finest Indian embroideries in gold, silver, or silk, and those embroidered neck cloths and fine muslins which are France." 38

So prodigious was the quantity of cloths manufactured and so many looms were Cotton imported from worked in Bengal, owing to outside Bengal .the growth and continuance of an almost world-wide demand during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, that besides the large quantity of raw cotton produced within the province, 39 cotton had very often to be imported from Bombay and Surat. Certain references on this point have been already noted; 40 a few more may be added here. It is stated in Fort William

³⁶ Ibid, p. 41.

³⁷ Chap. on " English Factories and Investments."

³⁸ Quoted in Taylor, op. cit.

³⁹ For references to the production of cotton in Bengal districts and their use for manufactures, vide Sections on 'Agriculture' and 'Asiatic and Inter-provincial Trade.'

⁴⁰ Chapter on 'English Factories and Investments.'

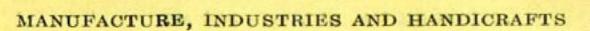


Consultations of the 4th of December, 1752:-"Agreed that we write by her (that is the ship Hector) to the gentlemen there (i.e., Bombay), advice them of the disposition of our tonnage, and desire them to provide a cargo of the best Broach cotton for the Durrington that she may be returned to as early in the season......' Referring to Natore, Holwell remarks :- "This country produces also coposs, or Bengal cotton, with which the above sortments of goods are in part manufactured, but the produce does not bear any proportion to the consumption, so that they are indebted to foreign markets for this article, and chiefly to the port of Surat." 41 Stavorinus also refers distinctly that the Bengal looms required the importation of cotton from outside the province, chiefly from Surat.42 The Dacca district produced the finest cotton 43 out of which the greater portion of the Dacca muslins were manufactured. The Commercial Resident of Dacca in the year 1800 remarked :- " A tract of land extending from Feringybazar, twelve miles south-east of Dacca, along the banks of the Megna to Edilpore, twenty miles north of the sea, occupying a space of about forty miles in length, and in some places as far as three in breadth, and situated in the pergunnahas

⁴¹ I. H. E., p. 193.

⁴² Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 473.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 474.



of Kidderpore, Bickrampore, Rajenagur, Cartickpore, Serampore, and Edilpore, is allowed to produce the finest cotton ($k\bar{a}p\bar{a}s$) grown in the Dacca
province, and, I believe, I might add, in any part
of the world since no cotton that has yet been
compared with it, whether the produce of India,
or of the islands of Mauritius or Bourbon, whose

Finest cotton produced in the Dacca district; important cotton-growing tracts. cotton is celebrated for its superior quality, has been found equal to it." 44 The other cotton-growing tracts noticed by him

were "the banks of the Luckia from the Dulaseree river to a little above Roopgunge, about sixteen miles in length, and a few miles on the banks of the Brahmaputra, north of the Dulaseree" which together with the country mentioned above furnished "the greater part of the kapas used in the Dacca province." Of the rest, some was grown in Buldecal, Bowal, and Alephsing, and some imported from Bussora in the adjacent district of Rajeshye (Rajsahi)." 45

⁴⁴ A Descriptive and Historical Account, etc., pp. 11-12.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Right up to the beginning of the 20th century the tradition amongst Dacca weaving families was that the cotton (tree-cotton) grown for earlier Dacca muslins was grown in the black soil of the districts adjacent to Dacca town in the north of it, of which area 'Bowal' (Bhowal State) was a part; the black soil extends into North Bengal.

It would be interesting to note in this connection the available details about Subsidiary manufac-tures and handicrafts. the subsidiary manufactures and handicrafts of Bengal at that time. Carpets of various patterns such as satarañci, dulica and gālicā were manufactured in Weaving of carpets, and jute-cloths. certain places.46 Weaving of jute-cloths was also common; there are references to gunnies (jute-cloths) in the lists of the East India Company's investments 47 from Bengal, and the author of Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim writes about the manufacture of jute-carpets (tats) at Goraghat.48 Bengal exported sugar to the different Asiatic countries 49 and was an important centre of that industry. Stavorinus notes how sugar was manufactured there :- "They bruise the cane, between of two chamfered rollers of hard Manufacture sugar. wood, two and a half feet long, and of about six inches in diameter. These lie horizontally, one above the other, in two rests, so fixed, that the rollers cannot be moved, out of their relative position to each other, and leaving a space of a quarter of an inch between them. Each roller has four spokes or handles, at the end by which they are turned in opposite directions by

⁴⁶ Vijayarāma's Tirthamangala, pp. 106 and 108.

⁴⁷ Vide ante.

⁴⁸ F. 115 B.

¹⁹ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, para, 19.

two men. The sugarcane being put between the rollers, is thus bruised, or flattened, to the thinkness of a quarter of an inch, and its sap is pressed out, and received in a large earthen pot, placed for that purpose, under this simple machinery. About eight or ten feet off, are eight other pots, fixed in holes, into which they fit exactly, and which are made in the earth in a longitudinal direction. The dried canes, from which the sap has been expressed, are used as a fuel under these pots, into which the sap is put, and boiled into sugar." 50 He also describes 51 the processes of Saltpetre, opium, manufacturing saltpetre, opium gumlac. and gumlac, which were important articles of commerce. 52

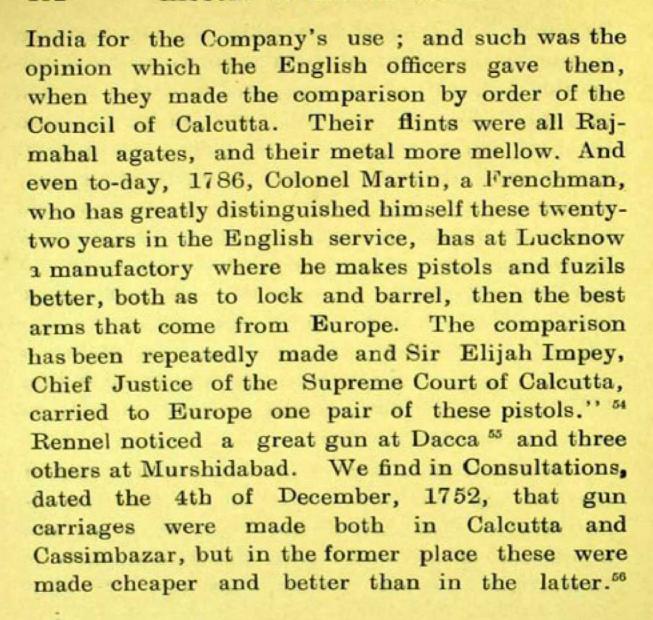
Excellent guns were manufactured in different parts of the province. We find in the Seir-ulmutakherin that Mir Kasim "was amassing and maufacturing as many guns and flint-muskets as he could, with every necessary for war." 53 Haji Mustafa, the translator of that work, remarks :-"the European reader may possibly hear with surprise, that these firelocks manufactured at Mongher proved better than Manufacture of guns. the best Tower-proofs, sent to

⁵⁰ Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 140.

⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 474-80.

⁵² Vide ante, Chapter 3, Sections 1 and 3.

Vol. II, p. 9.



had a tradition of efficient fire-arms manufacture since at least the 15th century, and it was not now for the first time that Indian-made fire-arms competed with the European-made article: thus the Rumi artillery of Gujrat was fully met by Sher Shah. Jaunpur in the first half of the 15th century specialised in fire-arms; Assam has a tradition of an earlier manufacture of them.

⁵⁵ Memoir of Map of Hindustan, p. 61.

⁵⁶ Long, op. cit., p. 39.



MANUFACTURE, INDUSTRIES AND HANDICRAFTS 433

There is a reference to the manufacture of gunpowder in the letter from the Court of Directors
to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 3rd of
March, 1758:—"As you have all the materials
on the spot and cheaper than in any other part of
India, we are well satisfied that, with proper
management, sufficient quantities may be produced
not only for our settlements in Bengal but for our
other settlements." 57

Rennel⁵⁸ has noted several places in Birbhum where iron manufactories exist-Iron manufactories ed. He writes: -(a) "Forges in Birbhum. for iron are wrought at Dyoucha Muhammad Bazar (a village (Deocha) and between Suri and Deocha). The ore is brought from the Mullarpur Purgannah;" (b) "Iron mines are wrought near Damra (16 miles from Suri) and forges at Damra and Mysara;" (c) "Iron mines are wrought at Kistnagur." We have descriptions of the works of the silversmiths, blacksmiths and other mechanics in certain contemporary accounts like Ives' and work-Voyage,59 Craufurd's 'Sketches manship of the mechanics. of the Hindus,' 60 and Stavorinus'

petre supply of Bihar, which, as we have already noted, the other European powers greedily tapped.

⁵⁸ Journals, pp. 109-11.

⁵⁹ Pp. 52-53.

⁶⁰ Vol. II, pp. 98-99,



Voyage, 61 which testify to their superior skill and workmanship. Members of each class of mechanics confined themselves to "one sort of work, so that a goldsmith will not work in silver nor a silversmith in gold. In the aurungs or looms, a weaver will only weave one single sort of stuff during his whole life, unless he is compelled to take another in hand." 62

Huge and well-fashioned boats were constructed in different parts of Bengal, and boat-building industry formed the occupation of many carpenters. These boats 63 were of various kinds, as for example, (a) bajrā,64 (b) mayurpankhī,65 (c) koshkhān,

⁶¹ Vol. I, pp. 411-13.

⁶² Ibid. This specialisation improved quality of the articles.

⁶³ Vijayarāma's Tirthamangala, p. 9. We have a description of ship-building in Dvija Vamsīvadana's 'Manasāmangala,' a Bengali work of the 16th century. Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature, Part I, p. 220.

were used by the Europeans and the rich Indians for travelling purposes. These were of various sizes, "from twenty-five to sixty feet in length and longer." Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 465-66.

extending to upwards of an hundred feet in length, and not more than eight feet in breadth;......these boats are very expensive owing to the beautiful decorations of

MANUFACTURE, INDUSTRIES AND HANDICRAFTS 435

(d) pālwārā (long, low and narrow boats with sails fit for moving in shallow waters), 66 seringās, 67 and pāñcways (small boats). 68

Haji Mustafa, the translator of Seir-ul-mutakherin, has referred to the manufacture of ice in Bengal. He writes:— "The mountains of, or rather hills of Rajmahal, at three or four days' north-west of Murshidabad, produce natural ice to the thickness of a shilling; but besides such ice, the Indians have a method of manufacturing artificial ice with boiled water (and no other) exposed the whole night to a still weather, where it congeals in plates of earth to the thickness of a crown. But (singularity!) this boiled water

needs be sheltered from the wind not only by sinking the plates in an excavation two feet deep, where they are ranged in rows but also by screening it with mats of straw. This ice is manufactured from November to February and

painted and gilt ornaments which are highly varnished and exhibit a considerable degree of taste." Ibid, p. 468, foot-note.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 467.

⁶⁷ Rennel's Journals, p. 68. For full description of 'seringās,' vide ibid, foot-note. In the evening of 27th May, 1464, Rennel "counted no less than 400 fishing boats" in the space of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles between the "villages (on the Jalanghi) of Malacola and Sela (probably a corruption of Sara)."—Ibid, p. 14.

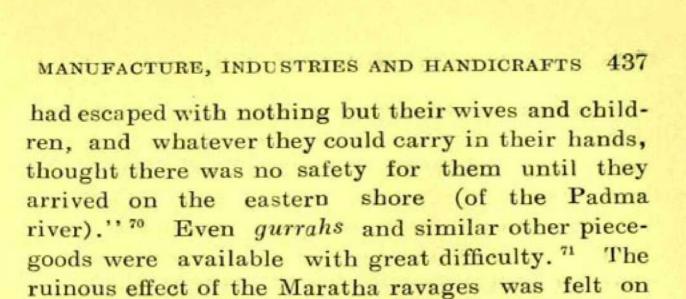
⁶⁸ Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 468, foot-note.



when a sufficient quantity has been procured, it is thrown in heaps, and rammed down in a closet made up of thick walls with a door made fast, and thick covered with straw; nay the closet itself is further defended from the heat by an additional roof of straw rising some feet above the other." ⁶⁹

Cotton and silk industries were by far the most important of all mentioned above. The decline of these industries, once so famous, is indeed a pathetic story in the economic Decline of cotton and silk industries,-a history of the province. It did process continuing not begin or end at any definite through many years. day, but was a long process continuing through Much has already been said on this many years. subject by such eminent writers as Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. C. J. Hamilton and Dr. J. C. Sinha. we have to note that, just as in other spheres of economic life, the influence of the Maratha invasions on the manufactures of Bengal was also highly disastrous. "Insecurity of person and property overwhelmed the merchants and weavers, and the manufacture of the country Influence of the Maratha invasions. was thereby greatly affected. Many of the inhabitants, weavers, husbandmen fled, the Aurungs were in a great degree deserted. the lands untilled, and the wretched fugitives who

⁶⁹ Vol. II, p. 158, foot-note.



the silk manufactures also; thus we are told that

the "weavers and inhabitants fled, silk (was) often

carried away wett and on the Reels, and piecegoods

before (being) manufactured—the one wound off

and the other finished in utmost hurry and confu-

sion." 72 In 1751 a letter from the Cassimbazar

dearness of raw silk and silk piecegoods for some

years past, they find, is owing to the Mahrattas

constantly entering Bengal, plundering and burning

the people's houses and destroying the chief

Aurungs, from whence the workmen have fled to

distant places, and not to any malpractice in the

gentlemen there." In the same year Mr. Kelsall

wrote from Bulrumgurrhy that the disturbances

factory to the Council in Calcutta stated:

⁷⁰ Holwell, I. H. E., p. 123.

The Letter to Court, dated 13th August, 1743, para. 10; ibid, dated 3rd February, 1743, para. 91; ibid, dated 4th February, 1746, paras. 16 to 34; ibid, dated 22nd February, 1746, para. 13; ibid, dated 30th November, 1746, paras. 7.9.

⁷² Letter to Court, dated 8th January, 1742, para. 61; ibid, dated 80th November, 1746, para. 15.

occasioned by the return of the Marathas had prevented him from being able to purchase any readymoney goods as most of the weavers had been obliged to abscond. 78

Thus, in the light of these foregoing facts, it may be asserted that the economic degeneration of Western Bengal began since the days of Allahvardi (if not earlier, from Murshid Kuli's time). hold that the oppressions of the Company's servants and gomastas were alone responsible for the decline of Bengal's manufactures and industries, and that this began immediately after Plassey, is to look at the thing from only one side of it. No body will deny that their conduct exercised a destructive influence on the industries and manufactures of Bengal, and that their oppressions increased as a result of the power gained by them after Plassey. But this also is to be admitted that there were already certain cankers eating into Bengal's economic vitality. Her capital, manufactures and agriculture had been disturbed and had lost respectively, their original strength, purity and productivity, when the dreadful storm of the Maratha invasions had blown over her soil. What the Company's servants did was that they carried this bad state of things to a worse one by their unjust and cruel treatment of the native traders, manufacturers and weavers. In fine, it may be fairly asserted that

⁷³ Letter to Court, 4th February, 1751 A. D.

MANUFACTURE, INDUSTRIES AND HANDICRAFTS 439

general political disorders which had begun many years before 1757 but which were certainly aggravated after that date due largely to the intervention of the East India Company. Referring to the economic decline of Dacca, Rennel wrote in August 1765:—"We may easily account for its decline, by the continual wars which have of late years wasted the whole country, and in the fomenting of which we have had too large a share." The seconomic decline of Dacca, Rennel wrote in August 1765:—"We may easily account for its decline, by the continual wars which have of late years wasted the whole country, and in the fomenting of which we have had too large a share." The seconomic decline was the case in other parts of Bengal.

74 An unpublished letter of Major James Rennel, Bengal, August 31, 1765, printed in Bengal: Past and Present, July-September, 1933.

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SECTION III.—Agriculture.

Agriculture has always formed an important

Agriculture an important element in the economic life of the people,—Bengal's advantageous position;—

element in the economic life of the people of Bengal. Mr. Dow remarks:—"Agriculture constitutes the wealth of every state not merely commercial.

Bengal, a kingdom six hundred miles in length and three hundred in breadth, is composed of one vast plain of the most fertile soil in the world. Watered by many navigable rivers, inhabited by fifteen millions of industrious people, capable of producing provisions for double the number, as appears from the deserts which oppression had made; it seems marked out by hand of nature, as the most advantageous region of the earth for agriculture." Dow's observation is supported by an almost similar statement of another contemporary European writer, Mr. Orme,

who writes:—"Rice which makes the greater part of their food is produced in such plenty

¹ Dow's Hindoostan, Vol. I, exxxvi. It would appear from this that in Dow's time (c. '67-'69) half a century's disorders affecting zamindars and ryots had brought down the area under cultivation and the population to about half its normal extent.



in the lower parts of the province, that it is often sold at the rate of two pounds for a furthing; a number of other arable grains, and a still greater variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the spices 2 of their diet, are raised as wanted, with equal ease: sugar, although requiring more attentive cultivation, thrives everywhere..." The chief agricultural products were paddy, wheat, rabi crops, sugarcane,

² Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim, fs. 113a and 115a.

³ Orme, Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindoostan, Vol. II, p. 4. A contemporary description (27th January, 1770) of manufacture of sugar in the villages is given in Stavorinus' Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, p. 130; the same process has been in use for centuries in the country; a noticeable point there is the use of the byeproduct of the cane fibres as fuel for the manufacturing process. Abbe de Guoyn notes (A New History of the East Indies, Vol. II, p. 498) that places like Bussundri, Fresindi or Goraghat produced "vast quantities of the finest sugar in Bengal."

⁴ We may incidentally take note of the different kinds of paddy mentioned in contemporary literature of Bengal: Hariśańkara, Hāti-pāňjar, Harakuli, Hāti-nād, Hňici, Halud-gňuḍā, Kele-kānu, Kele-jiḍā, Kāliā, Kārtikā, Kayakacchas, Kāśī-phul, Kapota-Kanṭhikā, Kālindī, Kaṭaki, Kusumā-śālī, Kanaka-cuḍā, Dudha-rājā, Durgā-bhoga, Paradeśī, Dhusturā, Kriṣṇa-śālī, Koňār-bhoga, Konor-purṇimā, Kalmi-latā, Kāmodagarimā, Khejur-thupī, Khayer-śālī, Kṣema-gaṅgājala. Gayā-bālī, Gopāla-bhoga, Gaurī-kājal, Gandha-mālatī, Guyā-thūpī, Cāmara-dhāli, Candana-



tobacco, cotton, betel, etc. It is generally supposed that Bengal never produced wheat. Stavorinus, however, states clearly that besides rice Bengal produced "also very good wheat, which was formerly used to be sent to Batavia." But this wheat-growing and export were discouraged "in order to favour, as much as possible, the corn trade of the Cape of Good Hope." 6

We may try to localise the agricultural products in different parts of the province. Beginning from the north we find that Rangpur was a well-cultivated region, its chief products being wheat, sugarcane, and tobacco. The country round Rangpur. Cochymeda (a large village and ganj) was planted with tobacco in many places. The road from Cochymeda to a small village named Luckypur, seven miles along the south-west

śālī, Chatra-śālī, Jaṭā-śālī, Jagannātha-bhoga, Jāmāi-lāḍu, Jālārāṅgī, Jhɨngā-śālī, Balāi-bhoga, Dhunyā, Nɨmui, Nandana-śāli, Rupanārāyaṇa, Pātsā-bhoga, Pairā-rasa, Pipiḍā-bāṅkā, Til-sāgarī, Bñāk-śālī. Bakāi-buyāli, Dārvaṅgī, Bñāk-cuḍā, Buḍā-matra. Rāma-śālī. Rāṅgā-mete, Rāma-gadā, Lakṣmī-priya, Lāu-śālī, Saṅkara-jaṭā. Rāmeśvara's Sivāyana, Typical Selections, Part I, pp. 136-37.

⁵ Parker, The War in India, p. 2. London, 1772 A.D.

⁶ Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 391.

⁷ Rennel's Journals, February, 1766, p. 68.

ank of the Sanalota River, was mostly through paddy-fields. Much tobacco was also cultivated in the neighbourhood of Dewanganj, a large village and the limit of Rangpur to-

between Baganbarry (Bygonbary or Mymensingh) and Chilmari was quite flat on the west side of the river Brahmaputra and was covered mostly with paddy-fields; between Baganbarry and Mobaganj was full of paddy-fields, interspersed with groves of betel and other trees. The country round Olyapour was well-cultivated, every spot of ground being either sown with or planted with betel trees. The country from Olyapour to Kaliganj (on the Bramhaputra), a few miles below Olyapour, was full of paddy-fields and betel groves. In

Purneah, paddy, wheat, pulse

⁸ Ibid, p. 66.

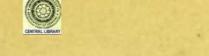
⁹ Ibid, p. 48.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 63.

^{11 &}quot;Spelt Oliapour in Rennel's map (plate 44, part 2). The modern Ulipur, headquarters of a thana of that name and still the seat of the principal kutchery of the Baharbund Zemindars." Bengal: Past and Present, 1924, Vol. XXVIII, p. 192.

¹² Rennel's Journals, p. 54. The country round Olyapur belonged to the Baharbund paragana.

¹³ Ibid.



and mustard seeds, and other food-grains, all kinds of corn and pepper, grew in abundance. Rennel calls it "a fine wheat country and exceedingly well-stocked with cattle." Pepper grew in abundance in Sarkar Mahmudabad, which comprised north-eastern Nadia, north-eastern Jessore and western Faridpur. Wheat and opium were produced in the borderland between Purneah and Rangpur. The tract from Barasat to Jessore was open and well-cultivated, the

The road from Calcutta to Hajiganj lay mostly through paddy-fields. Rennel noticed a great number of tanks on the roads, and a fine 'topa' of cocoanut and betel trees at Chaldibarya, six miles from Barasat. Much paddy and cotton were sown in the neighbourhood of the nullah Mahespunda, five miles south-east of the Jalanghi. The

¹⁴ Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 38.

¹⁵ Rennel's Journals, p. 71.

¹⁶ Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 43.

¹⁷ Stavorinus describes the process of opium production in Bihar, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 464-77.

¹⁸ Rennel's Journals, p. 73.

Rennel's Journals, pp. 86-87. "The country in general (round Jingergatcha) is open and well-culivated; in the groves there are great numbers of cocoanut trees, and a kind of trees named Cazir-Gatch (the bastard datepalm) from whence they made a coarse kind of sugar." Ibid, p. 89.

²⁰ This creek was the head of the Mathabhanga, also



goree (in the Nadia District) was well-cultivated and produced much paddy.²¹

Extensive lands were cultivated on both sides of the Ganges in the Pubna district, particularly on the west side, where much paddy was grown,22 e.g., the territory adjacent to Habbaspur on the Ganges, south-west of Pubna, was an important paddyproducing centre. Betel was produced abundantly in the neighbourhood of Sunapara (Sonapara), about nine miles down the Chunnunah Creek,23 and in the village of Bandorse or Gopalpur, lying a mile below the head of the Eastern Comer.24 The country on both sides of the Arti river was well-cultivated and produced much paddy and cotton.25 Cotton and paddy, sufficient for local consumption, were also cultivated in many places between Dacca and Jafarganj.26 Much paddy was grown in the Binetty island above Dacca.

known for the first forty miles of its course as the Kumar, Comer or Comare of Rennel. Rennel's Journals, p. 13,

²¹ Ibid, p. 15.

²² Ibid, p. 17.

²³ Ibid, p. 18.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 19.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 82.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 27.



Hajganj.²⁷ The portion of the country from Binetty island to the head of the Nawabganj creek (seven miles below Hajiganj) was sown with paddy and cotton.²⁸ The land round Azimpur (a village in the present Faridpur district) was well-cultivated and produced sugarcane, tobacco and betelnut,²⁹ and betels were grown near Gaurnadi.³⁰ Those parts of country lying between Doycalley,³¹ and Rajabary, Chandpur and Luckipur,³² about Luricule,³³ in the neighbourhood of Adampur, and

- "Binetty island is about five miles long and near two over, and lies in a N. W. B. N. and B. E. S. S. direction; it has 11 villages on it, but scarce a single tree. Being low it is mostly sown with paddy, of which I judge there is at least 3½ square miles. The banks of the river opposite to this island are mostly sown with paddy and have a great number of villages on them." Ibid.
 - 28 Ibid, p. 28. 29 Ibid, p. 35.
- 30 Gaurnadi lay nine miles below a creek running from Habiganj. According to Rennel, betel-leaves were the chief products here.
 - 31 Rennel's Journals, p. 37.
- "Chandpour (Chandpur), a small but remarkable village, lies on the south bank of the Niagonga near the point of its conflux with Meghna. It is situated about 31 miles from Dacca, 11 from Rajabary, and 23 or 24 for Luckypur." Ibid, p. 38.
- 133 Ibid, p. 39. "Luricule, once a remarkable village, lies almost half way betwixt the Ganges and Meghna, is about 28 miles S. E. from Dacca and 3 miles ESS from Rajnagore. Here are the ruins of a Portuguese church, and of many brick houses." Ibid.



at the head of the Luckya river, produced a large quantity of betel-leaves.34 Five miles above Feringybazar, where the Buriganga river fell into the Icchamati, the country was well-cultivated and produced paddy and cotton,35 and similarly the part about Sultansuddy (Sultan Shahadee), situated about 16½ miles trom Dacca on the western bank of the Meghna, was also an important paddyproducing area.36 The part of the country about Osunpur, fifty miles north-east of Dacca, produced betel-leaves.37 These were also produced in the lands about Chanderganj, lying fifteen miles southeast of Luckipur. 38 The lands stretching for 1434 miles between Chanderganj 39 and Colinda were extremely fertile and produced much paddy, and a little quantity of cotton; the immense quantity of cotton required there for the manufacture of cloths was brought from distant places.40 Betel-leaves were grown in an abundant quantity

³⁴ Ibid, p. 46.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 40.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 45.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 47.

³⁸ Ibid.

in Puruguna of Amidabad which is an extensive and fertile province." Ibid, p. 75.

⁴⁰ Ibid. Rennel remarks:—"I saw but little cotton growing, so that the immense quantities of cotton used in the manufacture of their cloths must be brought from distant places."



in the locality round Cassidya.⁴¹ Much cotton was produced in certain parts of Birbhum, e.g., in paragana Barbucksing (Barbaksing), that is, the country round the Surul Factory, and in paragana Surroofsing (Swarupsingh), nineteen miles east of Suri.⁴² Lands round Suri produced much paddy.⁴³ Bankura⁴⁴ and Burdwan⁴⁵ produced capas (cotton) sufficient only for local consumption. Indigo was cultivated in certain parts of Maldah.⁴⁶

Various kinds of rabi crops, such as, māskalāi, moog, cholā, arahara, masurī, barabaṭī, maṭara, māṭuā, bhurā, yava (barley), khesāri, etc., are Agricultural im. referred to in contemporary lite-plements.—cultivation rature. There we get also some idea of the chief agricultural implements and of cultivation and field work. The following 'cāṣāstras' (agricultural implements) are mentioned in Rāmeśvara's Śivāyana,—codāly, kāste, lāngal (plough), jowāl, fāl, bide, mai. Both

buffaloes and oxen were yoked to the plough,49

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 76.

⁴⁴ Holwell, I. H. E, p. 200.

⁴² Ibid, pp. 109-11.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 196.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ryuz-us-salatin, p. 46.

⁴⁷ Mahāraṣṭrapurāṇa, lines 235-36; Bhāratacandra, chap on 'Dillite Utpāta-varṇana''

⁴⁸ Rāmeśvara's Sivāyana, p. 44 (B.E.)

^{49 &}quot;Yamera nikaţa hate mahişere āni | Tomāra eñdete dão jute Sulapani" ||

^{(&}quot;Get a buffalo from Yama and yoke it along with your ox." (Ibid, p. 45.)



and cowdung was used to manure the fields.50. The owners of the fields regularly inspected the work of the labourers, and occasionally sat by the fields until the labourers finished their day's work and plodded their weary steps homewards. This is evident from a passage in Rāmeśvara's Śivāyana, which further describes the process of rooting out weeds from the fields (i.e., how the labourers separated the weed from the paddy-plants and finished their work in one tract after another as quickly as possible).51 Irrigation formed an important part of the field-work and the preservation of water was a principal object, " for which the high lands" were " moulded in by great banks to collect the water that falls from the mountains; " and these reservoirs were "kept by the government for the public benefit, every man paying for his portion of a drain." 52 Water preserved in tanks was also of much use in this respect.53 Sometimes the proprietors of lands came into collision with one another for enjoying precedence in the matter taking water for their fields from a particular

^{50 &}quot;Vṛṣa o simhera nāda āche ta jamiā I Sāra kari māṭhe tāhā dāo charāiā." II

[&]quot;There is much of animal dung collected there,—scatter it in the field as manure." Ibid, p. 45.

⁵¹ Typical Selections, etc., Part I. p. 131.

⁵² Parker, The War in India, pp. 5-6.

⁵³ Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p 396.



tank.⁵⁴ There is a passage in Ramesvara's Sivāyana, which describes how water was sometimes drained off from overflooded fields.⁵⁵

The Maratha invasions and the ravages of the

Portuguese and the Mugs, affect
agriculture affected by the calamities of the time—

to some extent. The Maratha irruption of the mid-eighteenth century was indeed a great calamity; it did, at least for several years, disturb the even tenor of life of the bulk of the

a great calamity; it did, at least for several years, disturb the even tenor of life of the bulk of the people in Western Bengal. Under the pressure of the repeated incursions of the Marathas and the ravages of the Portuguese and the Mug pirates, the villagers experienced great difficulties in following their peaceful vocations and activities. After 1757 the oppressions of the revenue farmers and aumils added to the miseries of the agriculturists,

⁵⁴ Craufurd, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 74.

⁵⁵ P. 53.

^{56 &#}x27;Chāṣā kaivarta yata yāya palāiā ! Bichana baladera piṭhe lāṅgala laiā'' ||

^{(&}quot;The agriculturists of the Kaivarta caste took to their heels with their ploughs, and with paddy seeds on the back of their bullocks.") Mahārāsṭrapurāṇa, lines 305-306. Compare:—

[&]quot;Chele ghumālo pāḍā jurālo bargī elo deśe ! Bulbulite dhāna kheyeche khājānā diba kise!" ||

[&]quot;The children have fallen asleep, the quarters have become quiet (but) the Bargis have entered into our land,—the bulbuls (a kind of bird) have eaten up paddy grains;—how to pay the rent!"



till they had their cup of distress filled to the brim in the great famine of 1770 A.D. About the year 1772 Mr. Pattullo observed:—"The unwise practice of pushing up the rents every year in Bengal, has afforded a full demonstration of the destructive consequences, by having rendered many of these lands desolate." 57

The East India Company did not at first care about agriculture and their trade in agricultural products was limited. The factories in the interior of the country had all been established in the manufacturing centres; and nowhere do we meet with instances of their having any arrangement for stocking agricultural goods. But in the year 1758 the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors that they would encourage the

Attention of the company to agricul. tobacco, according to the instructions they had received in their letter of 3rd March, 1758. Sometimes the agricultural products were exported to different parts of India, and to various other countries outside India. Thus Bengal rice and wheat went

⁵⁷ Op. cit., p. 7.

Letter to Court, 31st December, 1758, para. 119.

of the Empire, and other countries to which they likewise send rice, sugar, betelnut, ginger, long pepper, turmerick, and variety of other drugs and productions of the soil." Orme, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 4. Also Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 391.

to Kashmir and Tibet in exchange for musk, gold

Export of agricultural products.

and woolens, and Bengal wheat also competed with Cape of Good

Hope corn trade.

In this connection it will be interesting to know something about the forest products of Bengal at that time. Sarkar Bazuha 60 had a large forest containing ebony trees, which were used in the construction of buildings and boats. In Sarkar Silhat (roughly modern Silhet),61 delicious fruits such as oranges, etc., were obtained; "China-root" 62 was produced there and much of aloe-wood was grown in its mountains.63 Large quantities of cardamom and cassia leaf, and very large trees of ebony, were grown in Purneah, and

⁶⁰ Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 43. "Sarkar Bazuha extended from the limits of sarkar Barbakabad and included portions of Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna. Maimansingh and reached in the south a little beyond the town of Dacca. 32 mahals; revenue 987, 921." Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 137.

⁶¹ Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 43.

and 'Tuber Chinae' being the Tuber of various species of Smilax (N. O. Smilaceal, the same to which Sarsaparilla belongs). It was said to have been used with good effect on Charles V, when suffering from gout, and acquired a great repute. It was also much used in the same way as Sarsaparilla. It is now quite obsolete in England, but is still held in esteem in the native pharmacopoeias of China and India." Hobson-Jobson, 153.

⁶³ Ryas-us-salatin, p. 38.



the mountains of the Murang (at six days' journey to the north of Purneah) supplied the murāngī wood, also called bāhādurī.⁶⁴ The jungles on the eastern side of Bateese Hazary (modern Jalpaiguri) ⁶⁵ gave a large supply of timber, much of which was brought down from the Bhutan mountains by the freshets.

⁶⁴ Rennel's Journals, pp. 69-70.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 68₂



SECTION IV .- Markets and Prices of Articles.

Generally every important city 1 or village had

Markets in the cities. Rāmaprasāda's description of the market in Burdwan. a market within its boundary. Bazars existed even in places which were not trade-centres.² The markets in the cities con-

tained shops of almost every article of necessity as well as luxury, e.g., sweetmeats, sugar, bhurā (unrefined sugar), milk, ghee, betel-leaves, betelnuts, mace, cloves, nutmeg, sandal, saffron, firewood, etc., etc. Rāmaprasāda's description of the market in the city of Burdwan, which was then "for populousness and plenty of provisions superior to most cities in Bengal," deserves notice in this connection. He writes, "Beyond these the poet (Sundara) saw the king's market with

¹ This is clear from the description of cities in Vijayarāma's *Tīrthamangala*, where the author has carefully noted the market places visited by him and his master Kṛṣṇacandra Ghoṣāla. Also Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 113 and 513.

^{2 &}quot;Nattour has a large bazar but is a place of no trade." Rennel's Journals, p. 83.

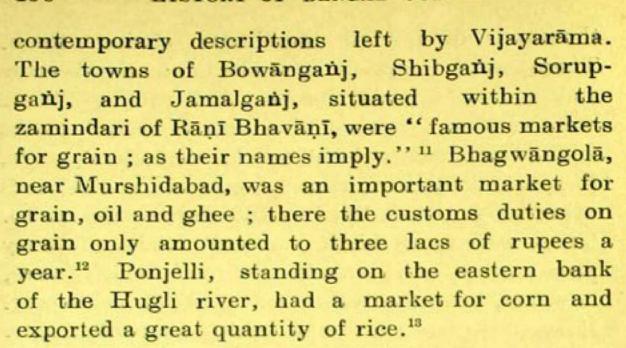
³ Bhāratacandra, Chap. Mālinīra besātira hisāb.' From this chapter we can also get an idea of the articles of daily consumption in a middle-class family.

⁴ Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 377.



thousands of foreign merchants sitting there. There were hundreds of traders and shop-keepers and countless gems, pearls, and rubies. There were various kinds of fine and beautiful cloths such as vanāt (felt-cloth), makhmala (velvet), pattu, bhuṣṇāi,5 baṭādāra, dācāiā,6 māldai,7 and various other kinds, much liked by the Amirs (the rich). There were many bilātī (foreign) articles of fancy price or of fashionable designs,8 which were, however, heaped together for want of customers. Everything was cheap and easily available...... Bāghāi Kotwāl, with pride equal to that of the Lord of Death and with red eyes, was present there on an elephant's back." This is a description of the jewellery and the cloth departments of the market in Burdwan, but a city market also contained various other shops dealing in different articles, e.g., grain golās (barns), grocers' shops, shops of the craftsmen like śñākhārīs (shellworkers), kñāsārīs, etc.,10 as we find from several

- 5 Refers to cloths manufactured in Bhuṣṇā Pargana.
- 6 Cloths manufactured in Dacca District.
- 7 Cloths manufactured in Maldah District.
- 8 According as we read be kimmater or be kismater; the latter is more probable since in the next sentence the writer speaks of the cheapness of all goods.
 Vide Appendix.
 - 9 Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 6.
- 10 "The boats soon reached the market-place at Bhagwangola, and all shouted out 'Hari, Hari!' They were highly pleased to see the market, and walked through



At that time Calcutta had about ten or eleven such bazars, viz., Sobha Bazar,

Markets in Calcutta. Dobhapara Bazar, Hatkhola
Bazar, Bag Bazar, Charles Bazar,

Shyam Bazar, New Bazar, Begum Bazar,

the whole city on foot. The market, beautiful to look at, extended 4 kos (eight miles) and was full of numerous śnākhāris (shell-workers), knāsāris and weavers. The streets were full off grocers' shops, and they all spoke highly of the market. There were also innumerable grain golās (rice and paddy barns) there. They left the place after halting there for two days." Vijayarāma's Tīrthamangala, pp. 39-30. Almost similar descriptions have been given of markets in other cities also, e.g., Rajmahal (ibid, p. 43); Kaliganj (ibid, p. 40); Futwah (ibid, p. 62); Cassimbazar (ibid, p. 190); Cutwah (p. 193); Nadia (p. 203).

¹¹ Holwell, I.H.E., p. 193,

¹² Ibid, p. 194.

¹³ Grose, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 236.



Gasthola Bazar, John Nagore, Gunge or Mondy Bazar situated in the district of Govindapur. The several articles on which duties were levied at the Gunge or Mondy Bazar were: rice, paddy, gram, and all other kinds of grain, and also on tobacco, ghee, cloth, oil, gunnies, capas, seeds, betel-nut exported;—" in short on every article that comes within the denomination of common food, or the common necessaries of life." The duty collected by the farmer of the Gunge on rice, at 1 maund a rupee, was the nearest 8 per cent. and on every other article 3 pies sicca a rupee, or 1 rupee 9 annas per cent. The several articles brought for sale in the Sutanuti market and Sobha Bazar had an established charge or rate, from one gonda

¹⁵ Holwell, Indian Tracts, pp. 210-16. The income from the farming of the Gunge from 1738 to 1752 were, as follows:—

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.	
1738	6,501	1746	13,201	
1739	6,505	1747	17,002	
1740	9,025	1748	18,203	
1741	6,655	1749	14,004	
1742	6,655	1750	10,100	
1748	7,600	1751	12,010	
1744	8,500	1752	22,760	
1745	11,200			

¹⁶ For the different articles, vide Holwell, Indian Tracts, pp. 210-16.

⁴ Consultations, October 9, 1752 A.D. 'Calcutta in the olden times—Its localities' in Calcutta Review, 1852.



of cowries to 6 pun per diem, on each shop, bundle, bag, or piece according to the different species of goods. Gram, mustard seed, wheat imported from Hugli and other places paid 6 gondas of cowries on each sicca rupee, sugar on each bag 2 annas, ghee on each dupper 6 annas, and honey on each dupper 2 annas. ¹⁷ The duties levied in other markets, as well the articles on which they were levied, greatly resembled those in the abovementioned two bazars. The great Bazar, under the district of Dee(?) Calcutta, was farmed out in three partitions under the heads of—(i) Jow Bazary, or where duties were levied on greens, fish, roots, pān (betel), etc.,—common necessaries of life, (ii) where duties were levied on iron, ghee,

17 Holwell, Indian Tracts, pp. 210-16. Sutanuti market and Sobha Bazar yielded from 1738 when these had been first farmed till 1752, as follows:—

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1738	3,504	1746	4,172
1739	3,589	1747	4,370
1740	3,397	1748	4,422
1741	4,012	1749	4,599
1742	3,532	1750	4,849
1743	3,758	1751	5,000
1744	8,991	1752	7,510
1745	4,332		



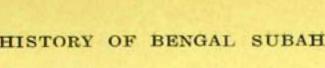
sugar, betel-nut and merchandise, 18 (iii) where were collected duties of koyally or jouldary (weighing). The first of these was farmed in November; the second and the third in April. 19 Iron paid a duty of Rs. 1-15-3 per maund, when both exported and imported; Balasore stone dishes Rs. 16 per 100 dishes; Balasore stone cups Rs. 8 per 100 cups, betel-nut Rs. 1-15-3 per cent. both on imports and exports; pepper, copper, tootenague,

18 Ibid. The Jow Bazary produced from 1738 when it had been first farmed till 1752, as follows:—

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.	
1738	1,650	1746	2,185	
1739	2,029	1747	2,185	
1740	1,980	1748	2,285	
1741	1,765	1749	2,400	
1742	1,804	1750	2,400	
1743	1,994	1751	2,600	
1744	2,007	1752	3,500	
1745	2,307			

19 This produced, from 1738 when it had been first farmed till 1752, as follows:—

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1738	1,101	1746	1,347
1739	1,155	1747	1,345
1740	1,156	1748	1,345
1741	1,156	1749	1,367
1742	1,250	1750	1,662
1743	1,150	1751	2,100
1744	1,200	1752	2,100
1745	1,320		



lead, dammer, cotch, chanks (śankha = conchshells), 2 per cent. on imports and exports; sugar 4 annas per each ox-load of two bags; honey, wheat and wax, 2 per cent. on imports and exports. Rice and grain imported paid 2 seers and 8 chattaks per each ox-load; rice and grain exported paid 1 seer 4 chattaks a rupee; gram imported paid 6 puns 1 cowrie a rupee; turmerick, ginger, sandal wood, red lead, long pepper, saltpetre, lac, gunnies, etc., paid 2 per cent.; tobacco imported paid 2 annas 3 pies per ox-load; tobacco exported 2 per cent. and 2 puns of cowries for each ox; brass plates paid 8 annas per maund on both imports and exports. In the third partition of the great Bazar was collected the jouldary or weighman's duty of 1 seer 4 chattaks a rupee, levied on all rice, paddy, gram, wheat, etc., imported in the whole market.20 The farmer of the Sutanuti market in Calcutta (which was held twice a week,

This farm produced for the Company from 1738 to 1752, as follows:-

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1738	726	1746	1,164
1789	717	1747	1,164
1740	718	1748	1,180
1741	731	1749	1,219
1742	1,108	1750	1,727
1743	700	1751	1,900
1744	1,036	1752	1,900
1745	1,139		

Holwell, Indian Tracts, pp. 210-16.



on Thursdays and Sundays) collected duties from retailers of cowries, cotton, thread, apothecaries' shops, oil shops, hardware shops, tyar shops, milk shops, jaggree shops, weavers' shops, braziers' shops, potters' shops, shoe-makers' shops and from shops dealing in sweetmeats, betels, cucumbers, trees, roasted rice, tobacco, firewood, straw mats, bamboos, betel-nut, greens, sugar-canes, plantains, tamarind, salt, cloths, rice, venison, paddy.²¹

Mr. Holwell writes that, for a few years since 1738, the method of farming the Company's bazars in Calcutta had been greatly corrupted in the hands of Govindaram Mitra. The farms were not sold at a public action or by outcry in presence of the Zamindar but the prices were settled in the house of Govindaram Mitra, who under fictitious names took most of the good ones for himself and disposed of the rest that were more precarious, to his friends and relatives; he reported the prices to the Zamindar for confirmation and several "pāttās" were ordered to be drawn out accordingly.22 Govindaram Mitra was definitely accused of frauds in connection with farming of the bazars for the years 1749, 1750 and 1751. He was most violently accused by Mr. Holwell, but Mr. Cruttenden and Mr. Manningham were of opinion that Govindaram Mitra was

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid, pp. 180-82.



not guilty of frauds, "as the farms had been sold at a public cutchery, due intimation being given beforehand, and as there was no order that did not entitle the said Mitra to an equal right to purchase as well as any other." The majority in the Council in Calcutta were of opinion that Govindaram was not accountable for any gains or other advantages that he had gathered on the farms for these three years.²³

Strict order was maintained in all the citymarkets by the Zamindars' offiRegulation of the cers. One of the important
functions of the Kotwals (the
Police Inspectors) was to look after the markets
and to prevent all sorts of disorders in such places.
One of these officers, who remained in charge of
the markets, examined the weights and measures,
as well as the quality of the provisions sold, and
regulated the prices of articles. Anybody violating
these regulations was subjected to a severe punishment.²⁴ Thus we see that the markets were

Public Proceedings, dated 11th October, 1752.

frequent use will lose considerably, we therefore now send you a set of brass standard weights with proper scales and triangles by which you are immediately to regulate the weights at your Presidency, and you are carefully to preserve the said standard weights for the same purpose at all times hereafter." Court's letter, February 11, 1756 A. D.

⁽b) "Neither could anybody sell anything in less than



definitely organised and controlled by the Zamindars in their respective localities, to the convenience of the people in general. For retail purchases cowries, which formed the lowest medium of exchange in Bengal, were more in prevalence than coins. 25

In 1729 the prices of the necessaries of life in Murshidabad were as follows:—(a) bansephool fine rice, first sort, 1 md. 10 seers a rupee; second sort, 1 md. 23 seers a rupee, and third sort 1 md. 35 seers; (b) coarse desna rice, 4 mds. 15 seers a rupee; (c) coarse poorbie rice, 4 mds. 25 seers a rupee; (d) coarse munsarah, 5 mds. 25 seers a rupee; (e) coarse kurkashallee rice, 7 mds. 20 seers a rupee; (f) wheat (first sort) was sold 3 mds. a rupee; (second sort) 3 mds. 30 seers a rupee; (g) barley was sold 8 mds. a rupee; (h) bhenot (a kind of grain for feeding horses)

the proper weight nor could anybody cheat others by increasing the price. The Gāji punished him, who violated the reuglations; the customers as well as the shopkeepers were all under his orders. 'Virāśī ojan' (82 weight) was the standard weight in the market; nowhere was the weight more or less than this standard.' Samasera Gājira Pñuthi, Typical Selections, etc., Part II, p. 1853.

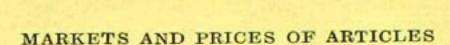
^{25 &}quot;These being insufficient, I took some cowries from others." Bhāratacandra. op. cit., Chap. Mālinīr besātir



4 mds. 35 seers a rupee; (i) oil (first sort) 21 seers a rupee second sort) 24 seers a rupee; (j) ghee 10½ seers a rupee, (second sort) (first sort) 114 seers a rupee.26 In 1738 rice was sold from 2 mds. 20 seers to 3 mds. a rupee and cāpās 1 md. for 2 to 21 rupees.27 But by the year 1751,28 the prices had risen nearly 30 per cent. more. In that year rice was sold 1 md. 32 seers for 1 rupee 4 annas, grains 1 md. a rupee, wheat 1 md. 32 seers for 1 rupee 4 annas, flour 1 md. 3 seers for 3 rupees, oil 1 md. for 5 rupees. Just the next year, the prices had gone further up,-rice being sold 1 md. 16 seers for 2 rupees 8 annas, grain 1 md. 12 seers for 3 rupees 5 annas 6 pies, wheat 1 md. 6 seers for 4 rupees 11 annas, flour 1 md. for 8 rupees, oil 1 md. for 11 rupees.29

hisāb; Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 461-62. He notes that in Bombay, badams (almonds) sometimes formed the lowest medium of exchange. The value of cowries in Bengal varied; according to Bolts, 4,000 to 4,800 cowries made a rupee; according to Stavorinus, 4,800 to 5,200; and according to Rickard, 2,560.

- Fort William Revenue Consultations, dated November 29, 1776, quoted in Appendix 15 to the Sixth Report, 1782.
 - 27 Consultations, December 11, 1752.
 - 28 Ibid.
- Governor, dated 20th November, 1752. Vide Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of the Government, Record No. 99.



In Consultations, November 9, 1751, we find that the Company's Government in Calcutta did not realise that year the annual duties on rice and oil, amounting to nearly Rs. 500, in consideration of the great distress and hardship of the people owing to the dearness of those two articles.30 Further, the price of rice was lowered and fixed by the Government in the following way: for good November bund rice 35 seers a rupee, and ordinary rice 1 md. 10 seers a rupee.81 The Zamindar was directed "to give public notice in all the market places that no person should exact higher prices than hereafter specified under a severe penalty." In 1754 fine rice was sold in Calcutta at $32\frac{1}{2}$ seers a rupee, and coarse rice 40 seers. 82 The prices of cotton 83 and raw silk 34 had also increased considerably by that time.

This increase of prices was due principally to four factors:—(i) the ravages and plunderings of the Marathas, (ii) the imposition of heavy

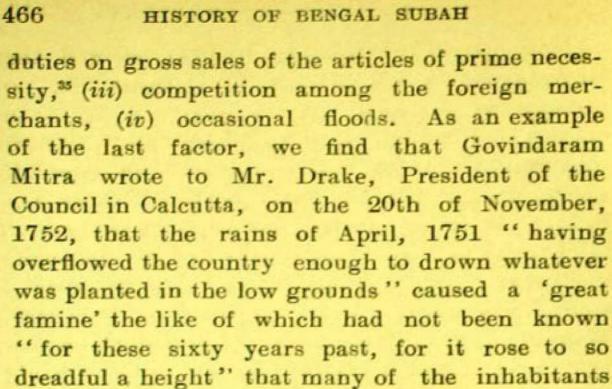
³⁰ Long, op. cit., No. 69, p. 27. The Zamindar was asked to give public notice thereof. Mr. Holwell, who was the Zamindar at that time, was however opposed to the remission of duty on the ground that the money would not go to the poor but to the dealers.

³¹ Despatch to Court, January 2, 1752 A.D.

³² Consultations, June 10, 1752 A.D.

³³ Consultations, December 11, 1752. Vide ante, Chap. on "English Factories and Investments."

³⁴ Consultations, December 9, 1751.



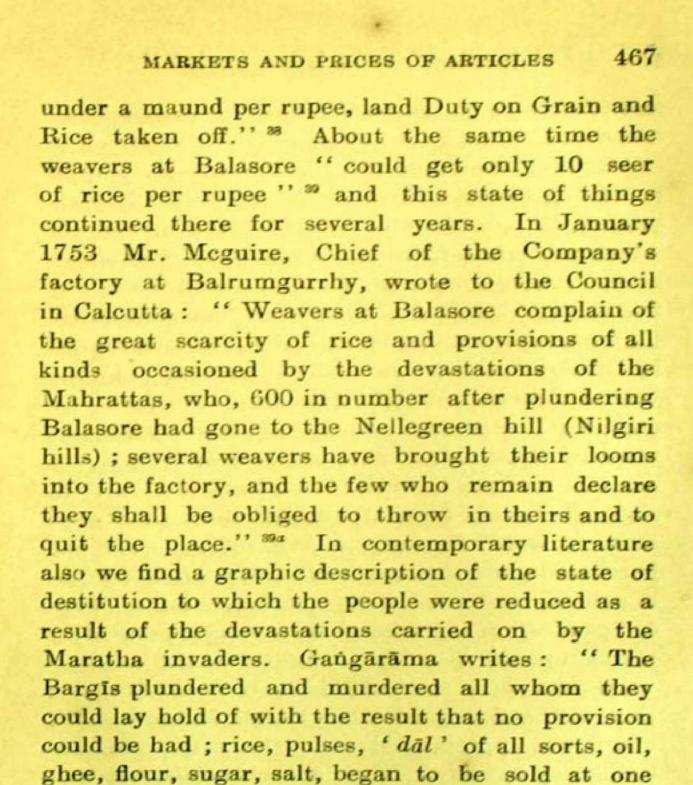
truth well-known to every one." se The Maratha irruptions fell upon Bengal as a calamity of an exceptional kind. The Maratha inva-"Every evil, attending a desions. structive war, was felt by this unhappy country in the most eminent degree; a scarcity of grain in all parts, the wages of labour greatly enhanced; trade, foreign and inland, labouring under every disadvantage and oppression." 37 The Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 3rd of February, 1746: "Rice so excessive Dear, 30 seers only for a rupee, ordered the coarse not to be sold in the Buzar

had "perished within the town with hunger, a

Consultations, November 9, 1751. 35

Letter of Govindaram Mitra, etc. 36

Holwell, I.H.E., p. 151. 37



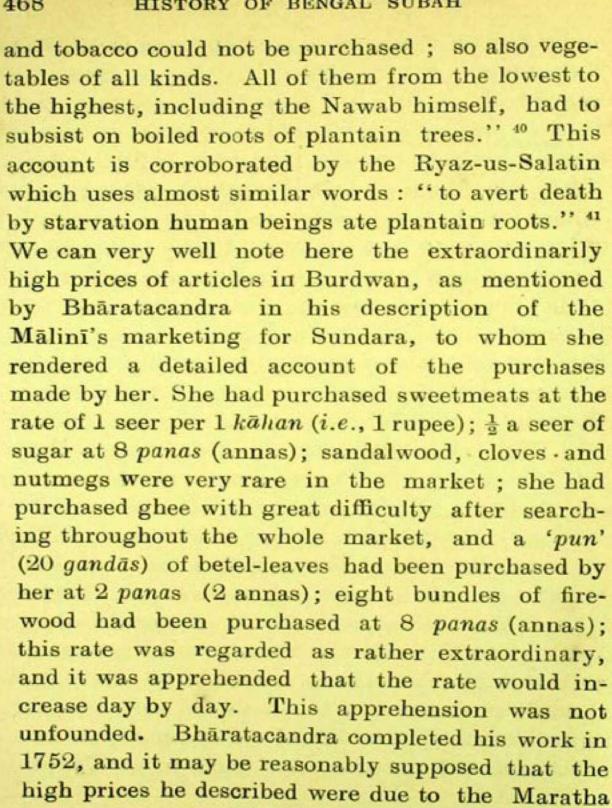
rupee a seer. The misery of the people was in-

describable. Numbers died of starvation. 'Ganja'

³⁸ Para, 105.

³⁹ Ibid, para. 67.

³⁹ª Consultations, February 1, 1753 A.D.



⁴⁰ Mahārāstrapurāņa, lines 234-42.

Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 342.



invasions in Burdwan, which city had been most severely affected by these.

The imposition of heavy duties on the necessaries of life became a source of great hardship to the people.

The consumption of the absolute necessaries of life must at all times be more or less equal, inspite of variation in prices. A poor man may put off buying a new coat until the price of cloth falls, but pressed by hunger every one must buy victuals if he has money to do so. In order to meet the demands of heavy duties the merchants enhanced the prices more and more and the people were compelled to meet these high prices.

The competition among the foreign traders
was also greatly instrumental in
Competition among the prices. To fill
up their investments quickly,
the people of the European factories offered high
prices for cloths and cotton goods to the business
men and weavers. The native inhabitants of
Bengal had in the long run to suffer and pay
these high prices for their clothings. It may be
noted as an instance that the competition between
the French and the English Companies increased
the prices of cotton goods and cloths at Dacca in
1752 A.D.⁴²

[&]quot;That they now labour there and have done for these two years past under the inconvenience of a French Factory continually emulating the Hon'ble Company's



Since 1754 onwards we find a gradual rising up of prices of almost every article of necessity. In Public Proceedings, January 15, 1759 A.D., it is noticed that the Company bought for the gentoo (Hindu) sepoys 49 mds. and 8 seers of rice at 86 Arcot rupees. About the same time cloves were selling at Rs. 16 a seer, mace at Rs. 12-2 a seer, nutmegs at Rs. 6 a seer, pepper at Rs. 25 a maund, cinnamon at Rs. 5 a seer, almonds at Rs. 25 a maund, raisins at Rs. 60 a maund.43 In 1760 the prices of some articles were as follows: fine rice Rs. 1-15-0 for a maund, coarse, Rs. 1-10-0 for a maund, stick lac, Rs. 5-10-0 for a maund, dammer, Rs. 2-9-0 for a maund, lump lac, Rs. 7-2-0 for a maund, lothwood, at Rs. 1-9-0 a maund, iron, Rs. 7-5-0 for a maund, cotch, at Rs. 8-4-0 a maund.44

trade, and have advanced the price of all cloths, both coarse and fine, and obliged them to be less severe with their dalals in pricing their cloth. They have frequently told them that they were quite indifferent at their ferreting or rejecting their cloth, being sure of disposing of it advantageously to the French, that they have been as strict in examining their cloth as possible, and have returned great quantities, even considerably more than they have taken "Consultations, December 11, 1752 A.D. For further details on the point vide the chapter on English Factories and Investments.

- 43 Proceedings, November 1, 1759.
- 44 Proceedings, March 20, 1760 A.D.



In view of the scarcity of grain of every kind in Calcutta, and of the inhabitants being reduced to great distress, the sea and land customs-masters proposed in 1760 A.D., that the "Company's duties be taken off on grain imported, till the present scarcity is over." It was consequently ordered that "all duties whatever on the importation of grain be struck off till further orders." 45 In the same year the Grand Jury of the Calcutta Mayor's Court presented to the Justices of the Sessions "as a grievance to the public, the collection of duties on all provisions and necessaries of life brought into Calcutta by land, whereby the price of every article of subsistence was enhanced to a most exorbitant degree, and the hardship was most severe on the lowest class of people." Taking this into consideration, the Council took off the land customs duties and abolished the Chowkeys employed in levying them; the collector's tithe was also taken off.46 In July 1761 the Council proposed to send a sum of money to the markets in the interior parts of the country for the purchase of a quantity of grain to be sold at an easy rate. Babu Hazarimal, a rich merchant of Calcutta,47 offering to advance a quarter of the amount, the Council resolved to send the sum and to take the management of the purchase. Accordingly

⁴⁵ Proceedings, June 26, 1760 A.D.

⁴⁶ Proceedings, September 4, 1760 A.D.

⁴⁷ Calcutta Review, 1852.



Rs. 50,000 (the Company's 37,500 and Hazarimal's own quarter, 12,500) were advanced to Hazarimal for that purpose. It was further resolved to write to the Chief of the factory at Luckipur directing him to furnish all the grain he could procure until the beginning of October; Cassimbazar and Dacca factories were also asked for further supplies. In 1762 the standard prices of various articles in Calcutta were fixed according to the following rates:—

Cokenill			S	o. per.	rupee.
(Cochineal)	20-0-0 p	er seer.	Cowries, 56		er. cent
Cofee, Batavia	8-0-0 per	maund	Dry dates	1-0	Do.
Coffee, Mocha	17-0 0	Do.	Dates net		
			Dammer burning	4-0	Do.
Coir rope (a)	12-0-0	Do.	(a)	3-12 p	er
					maund.
Copper, Persia	40-0-0	Do.	Raw	5-0	Do.
Plate	34-0-0	Do.	Boyl		
Jappon	50-0-0	Do.	Elephant teeth		
			1st sort	70-0	Do.
Coir	8-0-0	Do.	Elephant teeth		
			2nd sort	40-9	Do.
Cotton	24-0-0	Do.	Elephant teeth		
			3rd sort	25-0-0	Do.

- 48 Proceedings, July 20, 1761 A.D. Mir Kasim also complained of the dearness of grains in his letter to Vansittart, received 16th June, 1761, Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 204.
- (a) Coir rope=rope made of cocoanut fibres. Stavorinus refers to the manufacture of cordage or coir rope, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 394. Chank=śańkha. conch-shell; Dammer=resin used for pitch; Gogull=gum-resin; Hurtall=yellow Arsenic, used for yellow paint.



MARKETS AND PRICES OF ARTICLES

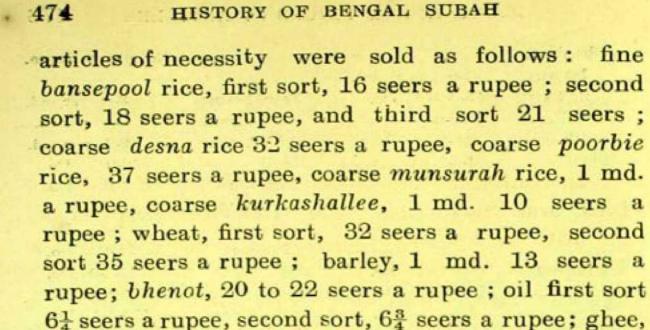
Chapk (a)				No. per. a Rupee.
1st sort	45-0 0	per cent.	and the state of the	The second
2nd sort	15-0-0	Do.	Frankincense	3-0 per md.
3rd sort	12-0-0	Do.	Gold thread	3-8 per oz.
4th sort	9-0-0	Do.	Gum Arabic	2.0 per md.
Small .	4-0-0	per maund	Gaull	12-0 Do.
111			Gogull (a)	4-0 Do.
			Hurtall (a)	
			1st sort	20-0 Do.
			2nd sort	13-0 Do.
Hinge (a)	100-0-0	Do.	Steel	15-0-0 Do.
Ainggrah	10-0-0	Do.	Japan wood	4-0-0 Do.
Iron, Europe	9-8-0	Do.	Salt, Persia	150-0-0 Do.
Kissmisses	15-0-0	Do.	Madras	100-0 Do.
Lead	9-8-0	Do.	Sindia	200-0 Do.
Mace	8-0-0	per seer	Ingeley	150-0 Do.
Nutmeg	4-0-0	Do.	Silver thread	3-0-0 per oz.
Pepper	40-0-0	per maund	Tobacco	10-0 per md.
Pistacha nut	2-0-0	per seer	Tin	24-0 Do.
Pistacha			Ton Station .	BORNERS BANK
Flower	1- 0-0	Do.	Tootinague (a)	15-0-0 Do.
Qicksilver	2-12-0	Do.	Tea in catty	
Rose water	25- 0-0	per chest	1st sort	8-0 per catty
Read lead	6- 8-0	per maund	2nd sort	4-0 Do.
Raisin	12-0-0	Do.	3rd sort	1-8 Do.
Ratten .	0-12-0	per bundle	Toze	25-0-0 per md.
Sandal wood	12-0-0	per maund	Vermillion	4-0 per seer
Senna leaves	15-0-0	Do.	Vordegreaze	2-8 per md.
Sugarcandy	16-0-0	Do.	White lead	8-0 Do.
			Wax Pegu	32-0 Do.49

Thus the prices of articles went on increasing day by day to the great distress of the people till the catastrophic famine of 1770 appeared as a terrible scourge. Just after that famine the prices became extraordinarily high 50 and in 1776 some

⁴⁹ Midnapur Records, No. 5, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁰ Stavorinus wrote in 1770 that owing to the high price of rice, the inhabitants of Bengal "most of whom

rupee.51



could earn no more than one, or one and a half silver (penny) per day, out of which they had to maintain a wife and children, could not buy, for this trifle of money, the tenth part of the rice they wanted; the consequences of . which were, that whole families perished miserably." Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, p. 153. Vide also Chahar Gulzar Shujai by Haricharan Das ; Elliot, Vol. VIII, pp. 228-29.

first sort, 3 seers a rupee, second sort, 4 seers a

Fort William Revenue Consultations, November 29, 1776, quoted in Appendix 15 to the Sixth Report, 1782.



Section V.—Classes and Conditions of Labour: and Slavery.

In contemporary works like those of Edward Ives 1 and Stavorinus 2 the following classes of servants are referred to as being employed by the Europeans, the Anglo-Indians and also probably by the rich Bengalees: -a chief 'dubash,' a 'dubash boy,' a 'conucopola,' 'a roundel-boy,' a peon, a 'demar-boy,' 'palanquin-boys,' a 'compidore,' a 'derwan.' The duties and remuneration varied among the different classes. The functions of a 'dubash' (interpreter) 3 were Servants,-their "to usher in the company of his duties and pay. master" and to receive messages and give answers at his door. He was always a Hindu and was usually called a banian in Bengal. A 'dubash boy' always remained about his master to assist him in dressing, and accompanied him in his journey. He also belonged to the Hindu community and his pay in Bengal was Rs. 8 a month. 4 A 'conucopola' was the chief servant of

¹ Ives' Voyage, pp. 48-52.

² Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 522-23.

³ Dubash or Dobhash (literally 'a man of two languages'). Hobson-Jobson, p. 252.

⁴ His pay at Madras was 1 pagoda and 21 sanams a month.



his master's household and he was paid Rs. 10 a month.⁵ His duties were to keep the accounts of his master's household and to arrange for the payment of the other servants' and the shop-keepers' bills. He possessed some knowledge of accounts, knew how to read and write, and always carried some cajan(?) leaves (for writing on) in his left hand and his iron pen in the right hand. A 'roundel-boy' carried a roundel (umbrella) over the head of his master to protect the latter, when he walked out of his palanquin, from the sun. A peon's function was to carry messages from

- 5 At Bombay he was styled 'purvo.' There his pay was Rs. 5 a month and at Madras 8 pagodas.
- they (the E. I. Company) found such sumptuary laws so absolutely necessary, that they gave the strictest orders that none of these young gentlemen should be allowed even to hire a Roundel-boy, whose business is to walk by his master and defend him with his Roundel or umbrella from the heat of the sun. A young fellow of humour, upon this last order coming over, altered the form of his umbrella from a round to a square, called it 'Squaredel' instead of a Roundel and insisted that no order yet in force forbade him the use of it." Ives' Voyage, p. 21.
- (b) "He (i.e. Clive) enforced the sumptuary laws by severe penalties, and gave the strictest order that none of these young gentlemen should be allowed even to have a Roundel-boy whose business is to walk by his master, and defend him with his roundel or umbrella from the heat of the sun." Carraccioli, Life of Clive, p. 283.
 - 7 "He also walks before your palanquin, carries chits



place to place; his pay was Rs. 2 a month.8 The function of a 'demar-boy' (or musalchi) was chiefly to run with a 'demar' or torch before his master's palanquin in dark nights, but belonging to a low caste, he performed also various other servile works, such as cleansed his master's shoes, swept his house with brooms, etc., 'Palanquinboys' (bearers), as their names suggest, were employed to carry palanquins. They also belonged to the lower Hindu castes and their pay in Bengal was Rs. 12 each for a month.9 A 'compidore's' function was to go to the market for purchasing such things as fruits, vegetables, etc. He was always of a low caste and his pay in Bengal was Rs. 21 a month.10 A 'derwan' or porter used to sit at the gate of his master's house to receive messages. In Bengal a Mussalman was generally employed in this office and was payed Rs. 21 a month. Besides these, various other male and female servants were employed for different

or notes and is your body-guard. The more of these you keep, the grander you are thought to appear. Some gentlemen have at least 40 of them in their service." Ives' Voyage, p. 50.

8 At Madras 1 pagoda and 20 sanams; at Bombay Rs. 41 a month. At Bombay they were called sepoys.

9 At Bombay they were called palanquin coolies and were allowed 16 rupees a month; and at Madras 6 pagodas 6 sanams.

10 At Madras 1 pagoda. Compidores were not engaged in Bombay.

household works. These were kansamas, 11 chabdars, 12 cooks, coachmen, jamadars, khedmutgars, 13 grooms, crutchpurdors (?), grass-cutters, harry wench, wet-nurses, dry nurses. 14

There was a strict division of functions among the different, castes in the society. Stavorinus

Strict division of functions,—remarks of Stavorinus and Ives.

writes:—"A cooley, or labourer, cultivates the soil, as his ancestors did before him. The son of a Berra, or palankeen

bearer, continues to carry palankeens all the days of his life." In Ives' Voyage, we have the following interesting passage describing the habits of the Indian servants:—"...for though each of these servants could earn double the wages in the intervals when his master has no occasion for him, yet conscious that he has a sufficiency, though bare, he sits down contented therewith chusing (choosing) rather to trifle and sleep away his time, than to enrich himself and his family by taking pains. These servants have

^{11 &}quot;Consumah, Khansama, = a house steward. The literal meaning of the word is "Master of the household-gear." Hobson-Jobson, p. 190.

¹² Stavorinus, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 505. "Sāri sāri cābdār hāte hemachaḍi" ("the chubdars were standing in rows, with beautiful sticks in their hands"). Bhāratacandra, p. 99.

¹³ Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 855.

¹⁴ Proceedings, 21st May, 1759 A.D.

¹⁵ Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 411.

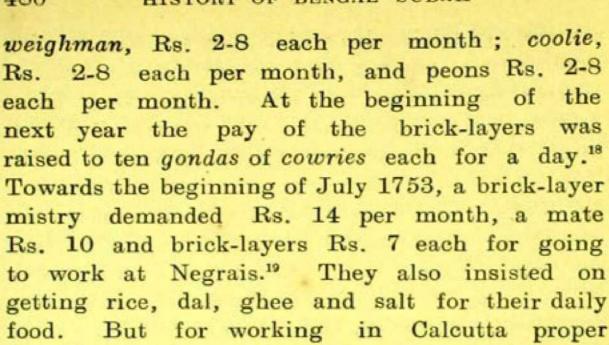


a variety of tricks also which they are sure to play upon new-commers; and where two or three of them are concerned in a knavish one they never fail to puzzle the master so as to make it almost impossible for the master ever to get at the truth. The palanquin bearers are cunning dissemblers for they will be sure to groan sadly under the weight of their new master or mistress, let them be ever so light. This is done with the views of exciting in the human breast a compassion towards themselves, and thereby acquiring some Buxie (remuneration) money...... After the servants have filled their bellies, they always betake themselves to rest on the ground, or in a window or on a table, or most commonly on the land which they prefer before anything else, because of its retaining the heat of the preceding day's sun. Upon the whole the Indian servants have both their bad and good qualities." 16

In 1751 the wages of the coolies in Calcutta were raised to 2 puns and 12 gondas of cowries each for a day. It is noted in Consultations, dated 31st July, 1752, that the banians, weighmen, coolies, and peons in Calcutta were paid by the Company in that year according to the following rates:—two banians, Rs. 20 each per month;

¹⁶ Pp. 51-52.

¹⁷ Letter to Court, 2nd January, 1752, para. 63. Thus it is evident that before 1751, the coolies were paid less than 2 puns 12 gondas a day in ordinary circumstances.



The employment of a large number of men by the Company in building the new fortifications in Calcutta, and also the engagement of some of them with the Company's Sepoy

Gradual rise in the wages of the labourers, etc., in Calcutta; its causes; complaint of the native inhabitants; rates fixed.

they demanded much less.

army, greatly enhanced the demand for labour in that city by the year 1757. Taking advantage of this, the menial servants there began to demand higher wages to the great

inconvenience of the Indian inhabitants, who consequently complained "with respect not only to the insolence but exorbitant wages exacted by the menial servants of the settlement." As a remedy for this complaint the rates of monthly wages of the servants were fixed at a

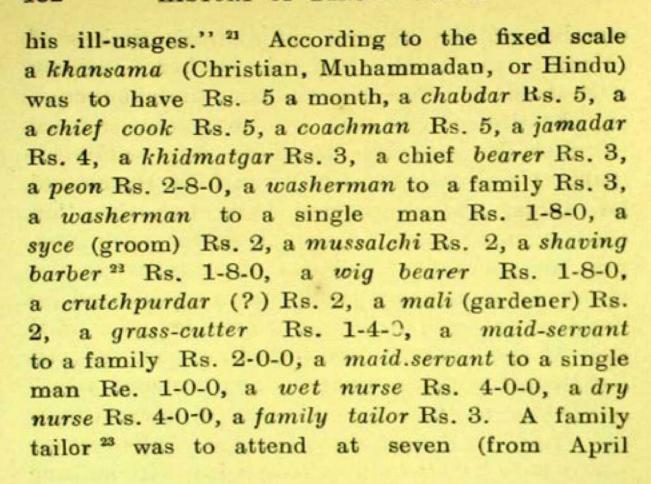
¹⁸ Consultations, 8th January, 1753.

¹⁹ Consultations, 3rd July. 1753.



meeting of the quorum of the Zamindars of Calcutta in 1759, Richard Becher, William Frankland and Mr. Holwell being present there.20 It was decided (A) that if any servant refused to comply with the terms of this settlement then his possessions in lands would be sequestered but if he had no possessions in land, then "on conviction of such refusal, do suffer such fine, imprisonment, or corporal punishment as the Court of Zamindary shall judge meet, and be obliged to serve or quit the settlement," (B) that if any master presumed to exceed the established rate of wages on any pretence whatever, then he "shall be debarred all redress from the Court of Zamindary," (C) that if any servant presumed to "quit his service without one month's warning he shall, on conviction, be liable to fine, imprisonment and corporal punishment at the discretion of the Court of Zamindary," (D) and that any servant ill-treated by his master would be entitled to "redress and releasement from his service on regular complaint made and proved before the quorum of sitting Justices or Court of Zamindary; provided, nevertheless, that no plea of ill-usage shall be deemed to exculpate any servant quitting his service before regular complaint made of such

Vol. I, pp. 181-84.



One Mr. Johnson was fined for striking one of his servants; he did not appear in Court and was, therefore, thrown into jail, and "after rotting in a loathsome jail" for three months, he presented a petition that he was unable to pay the fine or provide the common necessaries of life. His petition was granted. *Proceedings*, 21st March, 1763.

²² Ives' Voyage, p. 53.

oblige the taylor to come home, and work at your own house; but on viewing the miserable condition of some of this tradesman's tools, his rusty scissors in particular, and how loosely riveted, you would think it impossible for him ever to cut out a coat with them. It is much the same with his other implements; but inspite of every inconvenience he labours under, the Indian taylor is so



to September) or at eight (from October to March) in the morning "on pain of corporal punishment." These rates so fixed were announced by beat of drums and by notices, written in English, Persian, Bengali, Nagri, being affixed in public places of the city.24 In 1760 the charges of tailors, washermen and barbers were limited, with regard to the menial servants, according to the following rates:-no tailor was to demand for making a jama more than 2 annas and for 1 pair of drawers 7 puns of cowries; no washerman was to demand more than 7 puns of cowries for 1 corge of pieces and no barber more than 7 gondas for shaving a single man.25 In 1766 it was resolved by the Company's Government in Calcutta to have an office established for keeping a "register of all servants of every denomination in

exact an imitator, that he seldom or ever fails to give any entire satisfaction." Ibid, p. 52.

About thirty years later the rate was:—a khansama from 10 to 25 rupees, a chabdar 6 to 8 rupees, a chief cook 12 to 20 rupees, a chief female servant 10 to 16 rupees, a jamadar from 8 to 15 rupees, khidmatgar from 6 to 10 rupees, a cook's first mate 6 to 10 rupees, a chief bearer 6 to 10 Rs., a peon 4 to 6 Rs., a bearer from 3½ to 4 Rs., a washerman to a family from 10 to 20 Rs., a washerman to a single man from 4 to 8 Rs., a syce from 5 to 6 Rs., a shaving barber 2 to 4 Rs., a grass cutter 2 to 4 Rs., a wet nurse from 12 to 14 Rs., a dry nurse from 12 to 14 Rs. Long, op. eit., pp. 183-84.

²⁵ Proceedings, 27th March, 1766 A.D.



Calcutta." ²⁶ But no definite measures were adopted in pursuance of this resolution. The servants in the mofussil towns demanded lower wages than those in Calcutta because there the demand for labour was not generally so high and prices of articles were comparatively cheap. Sometimes the servants of the native landholders rendered services to their masters on tenure of lands, known as 'cākrān' lands.²⁷

The coolies were ordinarily paid in cowries; but occasionally, those engaged along with bricklayers or artizans, received their wages in coins.

Coolies were ordinarily paid in cowries but occasionally in coins also. When in 1753 the Company had to send artificers and coolies to Negrais, a head cooly demanded 7 and other coolies 4 Arcot

rupees each for a month.²⁸ This rate was regarded as rather exorbitant and it was probably so because they were being sent out of their homes to a distant place. In 1755 the families of the coolies sent to Negrais were paid Rs. 5 each in advance.²⁹ Similarly, the families of the coolies and mooteas (load-bearers), wounded and killed

²⁶ Proceedings, 20th June, 1766 A.D.

²⁷ These 'cākrān' lands were of two kinds—(1) Khñuṭi and (bekhñuṭï—those holding khñuṭi 'cākrāns' had to pay rents, while the holders of bekhñuṭi 'cākrāns' held them free of rent. Kshitīśavaṁśāvalīcarita, pp. 11-13.

²⁸ Consultations, 3rd July, 1753 A.D.

²⁹ Consultations, 6th January, 1755 A.D.



during the siege of Chandernagore (March 1757), were rewarded with Rs. 8 or Rs. 10 each. 30 Sometimes, advance payments were made to the coolies themselves, on the security of some man of position and influence. In March 1760, the Council in Calcutta while considering the report of the Committee of Accounts under date, 1st December, 1759, observed that there was a balance of Rs. 7,257-7 due from the coolies formerly employed on works. The Council consequently decided to write to Mr. Howitt, the then Resident in Raja Tilakcand's country (Burdwan), to demand of that Raja the sum of rupees 1,237-10-3 for which he was in security and at the same time to write to the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar factory to demand from one Satubdy Bildar (Sitabdi beldar) the sum of Rs. 2,326-6-3 advanced to him on account of the coolies.31 We should note here that the Company thus imported coolies from the mofussil places and engaged them in their works in Calcutta.

The method of paying the coolies in cowries began, in course of time, to pro
Abuses of the method of paying in courses:

duce various abuses. The bani
ans and the headmen combined to deprive the poor coolies of a part of their pay by

³⁰ Proceedings, 7th April, 1757 A.D. The reward was given for encouraging the coolies to serve the Company on similar occasions in future.

³¹ Proceedings, 20th March, 1760 A.D.



taking a small number of cowries out of each man's share under the plea of realising what they called dusturi. In 1757, the coolies at Fort William were cheated out of their pay by their headmen, who, instead of distributing the cowries' shares to the coolies, had themselves misappropriated these jointly with the banians. As a protest against this a large number of coolies walked off

and complained to the authoriBrohier's plan to pay ties. In order to get rid of these abuses, which day by day grew extremely tedious and obnoxious, Engineer Brohier, while laying out his plan for the construction of a fort at Berhampore in 1757, wrote to Mr. Drake, President and Governor of the Council in Calcutta, proposing that the coolies might be paid in annas (silver or copper) instead of cowries. 33

This method of payment in coins was not, Defects of the new plan. however, absolutely free from

³² Proceedings, 13th June, 1757.

cowries being extremely tedious, it would be necessary absolutely to coin annas either in silver or copper, and to facilitate the exchange of them a shroff or two of the Company's should attend upon the works with cowries for that purpose, who should be forbid gaining anything by that exchange that these people may not be losers on the money they receive for their hire, otherwise it will be such a discouragement as will hinder them from coming to the works." Brohier's letter to Drake, Proceedings, 13th October, 1757 A.D.



drawbacks. The poor coolies were not exempted from paying batta on the Sanat rupees in the bazar; and by this they sustained heavy losses. On account of this 5,000 men withdrew from their works in Fort William in 1758, and many of them demanded three rupees each per month.34 In 1760, Mr. Brobier informed the Council in Calcutta about the coolies' and the artificers' complaint that they did not get at the bazar the real value of the copper money they were paid in. He requested the Council that the shroffs and the market-people might be ordered to receive the copper coin for the value they were paid by the Company at their works, and that in the exchange the workmen might receive 54 puns of cowries for 18 copper annas and the same proportion for the lesser coins. 35 The Council accordingly gave a notice that the copper coins would be received back into the treasury without any loss. In 1760 the Company

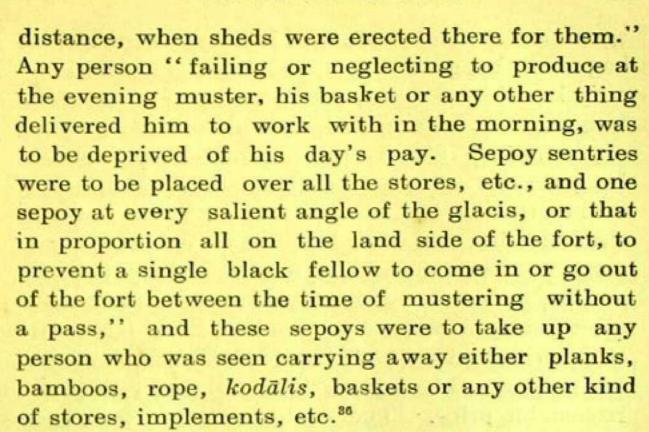
Clive wrote on the subject:—" He begs leave to represent in the strongest terms the great stake the Company have in Bengal and how much it is exposed for want of a fortification that it gives him concern beyond what he can express to hear from all hands the works go on very slowly, and if the want of hands arises from the want of a few pice more he thinks such a saving does not merit a moment's consideration, or that such economy can meet with the Company's approbation at this juncture."

35 Proceedings, 15th April, 1760 A.D.



The Company's regulations for the coolies. passed the following regulations for the coolies employed in works in the Fort:— "That

all coolies, employed in works, were to be divided into hundreds, and a banian was to be appointed to every hundred to take their names, and that the name of every person who did not respond at the 'afternoon's muster' was to be struck off the roll. It was thought necessary to appoint one European to every thousand consisting either of brick-layers, builders and coolies, as a sort of check on the power of the banians. It was settled that instead of numbers of dafadars being kept at a great expense, there were to be appointed only six; they were to provide at any time six hundred builders who were thought to be sufficient for six thousand coolies allowing 2,000 to be employed in serving the brick-layers with materials. Each of these dafadars was to have a sarkar for keeping his accounts. One of the sub-engineers was to attend constantly the musters, to receive all the returns and to make a general return of the whole including the daily disposition of all the people on the works. Payments were to be made daily and no deduction was to be made in the exchange of copper money into rupees, or such copper money has to be taken according to the value fixed on it at a bazar set up in the Fort for the convenience of those who choose to reside there, which doubtless would be many who came from a great

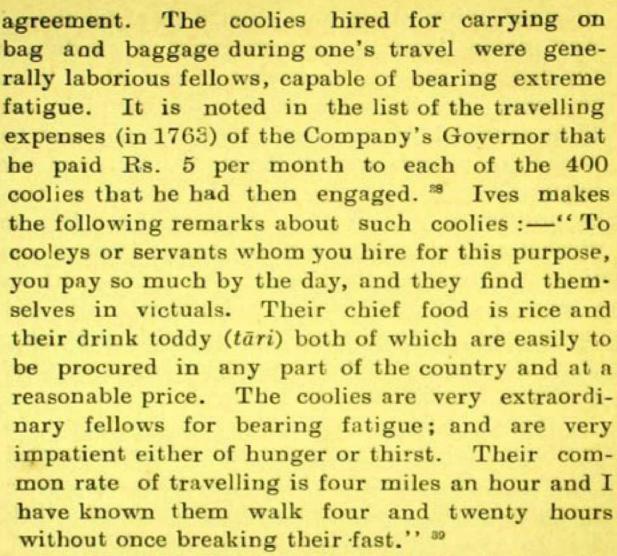


Though labour was ordinarily paid, yet in exceptional circumstances the zamindars compelled the poor ryots to work for them without any remuneration.³⁷ In the Proceedings, dated 10th March, 1760, we find that the collector was ordered to send peons into the paraganas and to bring up by force 8,000 coolies, because the works in the Fort were being much retarded for want of coolies, and the farmers were not complying with their

³⁶ Proceedings, 25th April, 1760 A.D.

^{37 &}quot;The poor ryot also is forced to labour for his lordly master without any reward, while perhaps his own farm at the same time remains uncultivated." Verelst, View of Bengal, p. 7.

[&]quot;The Kotwāl passed his orders for digging the hole and a large number of people were pressed into the work without any reward." Rāmaprasāda, p. 31, B. E.



In 1757 the Council in Calcutta devised the plan that "all weavers, carpenters, Bricklayers, Smiths, Taylors, Braziers, etc., Hand-craftsmen shall be incorporated into their respective bodies one in each district of the town, each body to elect a 'Chowdree' or head person to represent them, the Mundells (mandals) of every district to deliver in an account monthly to the Jemindar of every

³⁸ Proceedings, 14th March, 1763 A. D.

³⁹ Ives' Voyage, p. 68.



artificier residing within his limits, as well tenants as lodgers and sojourners, and shall make a report immediately to the Jemindar of any stranger of importance coming within his district and the place or house of his abode, and of any new ryots or inhabitants, as also of any persons removing from their place of habitation (without) outside his district and every person's name under their respective bodies shall be entered in the Jemindar's books, the Chowdree of every respective body shall lay before the Jemindar the just and true rates of all kinds of labours and work, what the labourer shall be allowed per day, and the artificier be paid for his work in every branch of his trade, those rates to be laid by the Jemindar before the Governor and Council and to be regulated by them and entered in the Jemindar's books. Every artificier shall take out a license from the Jemindar for the free use of his trade within the Company's limits, who shall pay one quarter of a month's wages for his license, which shall continue in force one whole year and no longer, and in case any person shall be found exercising his trade or employment without license he shall be fined a month's pay or if an artificier, at the discretion of the 'aridge duckle.' The Mundells of each district shall bring an account to the Jemindar of the several 'duncandars ' (shop-keepers) within his district of all sorts and all kinds whatever, each ranked under their respective denomination, and the Jemindar is to

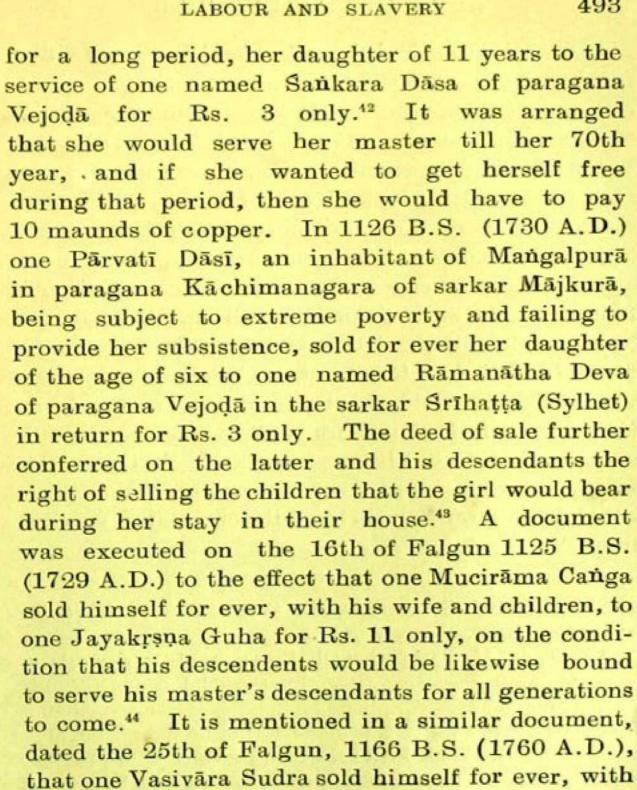


lay this report before the Governor in Council, who will order them licenses under such restrictions as they shall think proper. The Jemindar shall keep books where every farm, their several duties, ground-rent collected and every charge shall be minutely inserted, which accounts shall be delivered to the Board monthly, and he shall deliver to the Board a set of books of his transactions to be transmitted annually to the Company." 40 shows an attempt to put the mechanics and the artisans under a definite and coherent organisation similar to those which prevailed in the village communities of Bengal. In the villages there was always a body of artisans, of carpenters, and of handicrafts, etc., who were servants to the village community.41

that various types of slavery were prevalent in Bengal in that age. We find instances of a poor man selling himself in perpetual bondage to a rich man of his village, of one selling his children or of one selling his servant to another in lieu of a certain amount. A Bengali document, dated 1125 B.S. (1729 A.D.) states that a woman, whose husband's name was Bodāi and who was an inhabitant of paragana Bengāduvā in sarkar Mājkurā, transferred,

⁴⁰ Proceedings, 7th April, 1757 A. D.

⁴¹ Gadgil, Industrial Evolution of India, pp. 11-12.



S. R. Mitra, Types of Early Bengali Prose, p. 87.

Ibid.

Ibid, p. 8; Navyabhārata, 1327 B.S., pp. 181-83.



his wife, children and sister, to one Sobhārāma Guha for Rs. 21 only; 45 the latter also got the power of selling or transferring his slaves to some one else. Similarly in the year 1177 B.S. (1771 A.D.), the year following the great famine, a woman named Cāru Bewā sold herself to one Lālā Gurudāsa Rāya for her maintenance only, with the condition that he could punish her properly, if she ever attempted to escape. These practices continued to exist in the society for a long time, at least up to the middle of the 19th century. A document, dated 1212 B.S. (1806), states that one Ratnavallabha Sarmā sold a daughter of a servant of his father to one Raghavendra Cakravarti for Rs. 3 only with the conditions that the latter could marry her to a son of a servant of his father and could sell or transfer their children in any way he liked.46

⁴⁵ Types of Early Bengali Prose, p. 17; Bhāratavarsa, First year, No. 3, p. 403.

Itivrtia, Vol. 2, Part II, r. 91. In the "Vasumati" of Agrahāyaņa, 1332 B.S., pp. 233-34, Babu Surendramohana Bhaṭṭācārya published a khasḍā (draft) of an old document, dated 1231 B.S. (1825 A.D.), which proves that in those parts of Dacca known as Vikramapura and Maheswardi, servants were then transferred from one hand to another along with properties. The purport of the document is as follows:—"One Sivaprasāda Sarmā was giving up a property belonging to his grandson, to one named Rājamādhava Sarmā with the object that his parents might



The actual position of those slaves in the society of Bengal was better than that of the slaves of ancient Greece or of the present-day child slaves in Colombo. 47 The treatment meted out to the former was somewhat similar to that

enjoy bliss in heaven. He had consulted the Sastras and the Brahmins for this and transferred along with the property, the servants and the slaves attached to it." Sivaprasada Sarmā was an inhabitant of the village Fursail in paragana Vikramapura of Dacca. A part of this village has been destroyed by the course of the river Dhaleswari.

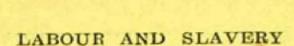
of Mr. H. F. Newnham, Mayor of Colombo, and President of the Colombo Friend-in-need Society, at the annual meeting of the Society on 27th March, 1929:—"It is known that small children are obtained from the villages in consideration of monetary payment. Their parents and these children are taken far from their homes and used as domestic servants in return for the mere provision of food and clothing. Undoubtedly the majority are well treated; but in the last year there have been 13 cases brought to the courts in which children have been grossly and cruelly ill-treated by those who have no excuse whatever for such brutality. The average age of these suffering children was eight years.

Six were burnt with firebrands and three with other heated substances. One child of 10, suspected of theft by her employer, was beaten until the cane broke. She was then burnt with heated oil and the sores rubbed with a substance causing severe irritation to the skin. Finally a nest of red ants was let loose on the child's body."



which the menial servants received at the hands of their master. In fact, the difference between the slaves and the menial servants lay in the relations which they respectively bore to their masters. The former were generally in perpetual or long-lasting servitude, while the latter could leave their masters' houses much at their own discretion. The Bengal slaves were allowed to marry and to have families of their own.48 We do not meet with any instance of a slave being subject to an inhuman treatment or of his being compelled to undertake unnatural and extra-ordinary duties. Female slaves were generally employed in such works as fetching water, threshing paddy grains, etc.49 There is also no instance of forced slavery; in all cases we find the slaves selling themselves and their children voluntarily owing to their inability to earn their bread in critical times.50 It

- 48 (a) "Marry her to Kaṭāśudra, son of Sunaśudra, a servant of your father. You will become the rightful owner of the children that she will bear." Types of Early Bengali Prose, p. 101.
- (b) "You and your descendants will have the right to sell or transfer the children belonging to her and to her family." Ibid. p. 87.
- 49 "Being provided with necessary food and clothings, she will do such works as fetching water, threshing paddygrains, etc." Ibid.
- make two ends meet, I. out of my own free will, sell to you my daughter Srī Maṇidāsī of six years age by taking from you Rs. 3 (three rupees only) in full weight " Ibid.



was indeed pathetic that a man bartered himself away along with his family for Rs. 11 or Rs. 6 or Rs. 3 only or simply for food and clothing; but this state of subjection to which he voluntarily threw himself mitigated to some extent the stings of his cruel destiny by protecting him from starvation.⁵¹

Besides such native slaves, Abyssinian slaves 52 were sometimes employed by Abyssinian slaves the rich men in their services. in Bengal. It is noted in the list of expenses incurred by the Company for the entertainment of the Bengal Nawab in 1759 A.D. that the former spent Rs. 500 in purchasing a Coffre boy.58 These Coffre boys were employed later on also. Busteed has noted that, in the newspapers of 1781, "many advertisements occur as to the disposal by sale of Coffrees. One is offered for 400 rupees who understands the business of butler and cook. Some seem to be valued for their musical skill and dexterity in shaving and waiting at table. There is an advertisement also for three handsome African ladies of the true sable hue commonly called Coffreesses between fourteen and twentyfive for marriage with three of their countrymen...

^{51 &}quot;I sell myself to you, Sir; please supply me with subsistence and enroll me in your service." Ibid, pp. 89-90.

^{52 &}quot;The Hāvesī (Abyssinian) slaves for moving chowries on both sides." Rāmaprasāda, p. 6 (B.E.).

⁵³ Long, op. cit., p. 194, footnote.



In all probability it means this, that there were Englishmen in Calcutta little more than a hundred years ago who not only bought and sold African slaves but went in for the breeding of them for the slave market." ⁵⁴

During the 18th century, the European Companies in Bengal, the Portuguese and the Mugs of

Traffic in slaves by the European Companies, the Portuguese and the Mugs. Arracan carried on a regular traffic in slaves. In 1721 A. D. an Armenian merchant named Coja Daniel, ordinarily a resi-

dent of Chinsurah, renounced all rights in his slave girl Marie. In April 1728, one Lwrens Argans sold for Rs. 51 (Madras) a slave girl named Murielle (Murali), aged about 19 years, to M. De la Blanchetiere, Director General for the Company of France. In a list of personal effects, both movable and immovable, prepared by one Felicienne Cabate in course of her marriage contract with one John Basspool, the former mentioned 18 slaves, mostly females whose age varied from 8 to

The City of Calcutta was itself a slave market at that time. Among the items of the

35 years.57

market at that time.

⁵⁴ Echoes from Old Calcutta, 4th Edn., p. 136, footnote.

⁵⁵ Bengal: Past and Present, 1910, pp. 261-64.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.



Company's revenue for April 1752, one item is 'sale of slaves.' 58 The Portuguese and the Mugs propagated the practice of slavery and bands of Portuguese and Mug pirates gathered in the Sunderbuns and frequently haunted the neighbourhood of Akra, Budge Budge and Calcutta.59 We read the following account in the East India Chronicle: -- "February, 1717, the Mugs carried off from the most southern parts of Bengal, 1,800 men, women and children; in ten days they arrived at Arrakan, and were conducted before the sovereign, who chose the handicraftsmen, about one-fourth of the number, as his slaves. The remainder were returned to the captors, with ropes about their necks, to market and sold, according to their strength, from 20 to 70 Rs. each. They were by their purchasers sent to cultivate the land, and 15 seers of rice each, allowed for their monthly support. Soon after this the Sovereign, Duppung Geree, was deposed by his Cutwal, Kuddul Foree; 25 men and women of the captives took advantage of the disturbances, fled, and arrived at Chittagong in the following June. Almost three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arrakan are said to be natives of Bengal, or descendants of such, who pray that the English

⁵⁸ Consuttations, 9th October, 1752; Long, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵⁹ Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. II, p. 271.

may deliver them, and they have agreed among themselves to assist their deliverers. From time immemorial, the Mugs have plundered the southern parts of Bengal, and have even been so hostile as to descend on the coast of Chittagong, and proceed into the country, plunder and burn the villages, destroy what they could not carry away, and carry the inhabitants into slavery. But since the cession of the province to the Company, the place for the most part has enjoyed quiet." 60 In Bihar 'numbers of boys of tender age were brought' by dealers, and mutilated so as to grow up as suitable servants for the harems of rich lords, and little girls were disposed of to evil characters, to be brought up to lives of shame and vice." 61 Sometimes, the Company's people in Bengal imported slaves from foreign countries. In 1759

Slaves imported from foreign countries by the Company's people. some of the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta made a petition to Lord Clive against Captain Lang, who had brought an

Armenian girl as a slave from the Persian Gulf and was unwilling to give her back to them inspite of their repeated requests. The petitioners wrote that "never such an instance was known since the settlement of this place by the English, nor the Armenian nation so much disgraced by having either of their males or females made



slaves." ⁶² About that time the Company's Government in Calcutta was investigating into a charge brought against one Lieutenant Perry for unlawfully buying an Armenian girl and taking her to Patna. ⁶³ In 1761, when an expedition was directed to Mauritius and Bourbon, the expeditionists were orderd to procure there as many slaves as possible. ⁶⁴

Slavery did not disappear when the Company's rule was established, but became widespread towards the latter half of the 18th century and continued to exist later on.65 Compared with the position of the slaves employed by the Hindu families,66 the condition of the slaves in European and Anglo-Indian families was miserable. A modern writer has quoted the following from an eighteenth century source: "slave girls, 66a for the slightest offence, and on the most trivial occasions, receive corporal punishment, entirely at the will and pleasure of their owners and I know many instances where punishments have been inflicted in a greater degree and by a more severe method than the criminal receives. who has offended the laws of his country." 67

- 62 Proceedings, 22nd October 1759.
- 63 Long, op. cit, p. 188.
- 64 Select Committee's Proceedings, 28th December, 1761.
 - 65 Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. II, pp. 272-73.
 - 66 Vide ante.
 - 66a Evidently in European and Anglo-Indian families.
 - 67 Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. II, p. 274.

CENTRAL LIEPAR

APPENDIX A.

INVESTMENTS.

- (1) January and February, 1742:-
- (a) "Now send the Marlborough having laden the amount of current rupces 59,640. Also 143 bags Cowries shot loose on half freight." Supplied St. Helena with stores amount current rupees 979-4-3. Have Loaden 260 tons saltpetre on the Marlborough. Shall put 260 tons also on the Shaftesbury to enable them to Dispatch her so soon as in February as not to hazard her passage. Princess Augusta refited and is now loading with saltpetre for Madras and shall send more on the Company's sloop. Send some samples of New Sortments of goods from Cossimbazar and Dacca and in a bundle delivered to Captain Smith's particular care. Send a Bale of the lowest priced Gurrahs."
 - (b) On Shaftesbury have loaden to the amount of current Rupees 5,60,000.7 Also 195 bags Turmerick at half freight.8 And sundry stores for St.

¹ Letter to Court, 30th January, 1742, paras. 2 and 4.

² Ibid. ³ Ibid, para. 9. ⁴ Ibid, para. 10.

⁵ Ibid, para. 11, ⁶ Ibid, para. 12.

⁷ Letter to Court, 15th February, 1742, para. 3.

⁸ Ibid, para. 4.



Helena amount Rs. 1,106-4-9.9 Have laden on the Princess Augusta 2,300 Bags saltpetre for Madras shall send per sloops 1,400 bags more.¹⁰ Send another bale of new goods from Cossimbazar and Dacca.¹¹ Now send another Bale of the lowest priced Gurrahs.'' ¹²

- (2) At the beginning of the next year (1743):-
- (a) "The Company's ship Augusta...... Dispached back to Madras with some Sannoes, 2600, Bags rice, she returned 14th October, and was sent again with Sannoes, 2,500 Bags Rice, 25 Jars oyl (oil) and 4,000 Gunny; 13 '' (b) "On 21st February sent the Port Bello and Bombay sloops to Madras with 140 Bales and 1,500 Bags saltpetre," 14 (c) "On 2nd instant (January) dispatched Fort George for Surat consigned first to Bombay with freight to the amount of Rupees 20,779-14-3, 2,108 Bags sugar, 431 Bags Ginger, 200 Bags rice, and 2,000 Maunds copper it yielding 46 rupees a maund at Bombay, and the Bengal market over-burthened, put on her also 600 Bags Refined saltpetre, and 20 Maund ovl (oil) ;" 15 (d) "Now Dispatch the Princess Amelia to England having Loaden 9,08,500 rupees, also ten

⁹ Ibid, para. 5.

¹⁰ Ibid, para. 8.

¹¹ Ibid, para. 9.

¹² Ibid, para. 11.

¹³ Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, para. 10.

¹⁴ Ibid, para. 11.

¹⁵ Ibid, para. 19.



Tons Turmerick 25 Tons Cowries and 30 Tons saltpetre at half Freight, '' 16 (e) '' And stores for St. Helena with 5 Tons rice Extra-ordinary, '' 17 (f) '' Have loaden on the Exeter to the amount of Rupees 64,87,000; Twenty tons Cowries goes on..."

- (3) End of the year 1743 and the beginning of 1744:—
- (a) "This comes by the Duke have loaded on her Rupees 5,95,800, 25 Tons cowries and 68 tons 13 cwt. saltpetre at half freight and for St. Helena Rupees 790-5-6. Filled up her Tonnage with rice for Madras..... "18 (b) "This comes per Mont fort have loaden on her Rs.6,15,400, 25 tons cowries and 1,000 Bags saltpetre at half freight. And for St. Helena Rupees 790-5-6 compleated her Tonnage with Rice for Madras;" 19 (c) "Have loaden on the Heathcote Rupees 6,37,540 also 2,400 Bags saltpetre, the Captain refused cowries And for St. Helena Rs. 750-2-6" (d) "Sent to St. Helena one hundred Blue Doosooties"; 21 (e) "On the 14th instant (February, 1744) ship princess Augusta dispatched to Fort St. George with what saltpetre and stores the Captain said

¹⁶ Ibid, para. 23.

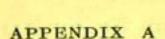
¹⁷ Ibid, para. 24.

¹⁸ Letter to Court, 14th December, 1743, para. 17.

¹⁹ Ibid, 14th December, 1743, paras. 4-7.

²⁰ Ibid, 27th Dccember, 1743, paras. 6-8.

²¹ Ibid, 9th February, 1744, para. 132.



he could take in.....'; ²² (f) "Have loaden on Godolphin Goods to the amount of Rupees 8,73,500," "40 tons saltpetre requested by the Captain," "10 tons Turmerick," "stores for St. Helena Rupees 732-11-9." ²⁸

(4) End of 1744 and beginning of 1745 :-

"Now dispatch the ships St. George and Winchester to Tellicherry with Red Wood, saltpetre and cowries. "Montagu was dispatcht from Ingellee 14th November last, send 86 ton. 13 cwt. saltpetre on those ships to Tellicherry, Prince William follows in a few days.

"Loaden on Beaufort current Rupees 3,02,000 also 40 tons saltpetre at the low freight requested for by Captain Stevens.

"Laden on Durrington current Rupees 3,04,600 also 50 tons saltpetre requested.24

"Lapwing left Ingellee 5th December with 50 tons saltpetre 10 tons Red wood and stores."

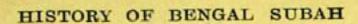
"Now dispatch Winchelsea Invoice Rupees 11,43,000.....£1,42,875.

"And Duke of Dorsett Invoice Rupees 10,05,000 ...£1,25,625.

²² Ibid, 20th February, 1744, para. 7.

²³ Ibid, paras. 10, 11, 12.

²⁴ Letter to Court, 7th December 1744, paras. 1-2 and 31st December, 1744, paras. 1-4.



"And at half freight on Winchester 18 ton cowries and 50 tons saltpetre. Turmerick refused by both captains.

"Stores for St. Helena on Winchelsea 1,009-8-6

Duke of Dorset 1,236-9-0." 25

(5) Towards the close of 1745 and the begining of 1746:—

"Have loaden per Scarborough Rs. 9,51,900.

Also 585 bags of saltpetre and 12 bags cowries at the low freight.

And for St. Helena current Rupees 794-2-9.

On the Royal George have Loaden rupees 9,30,500.

Also 456 bales saltpetre at Low Freight.

For St. Helena stores 820-10.

Sent 5 planks per each sawed in half.

The captains refused surplus Rice for St. Helena." 26

²⁵ Ibid, dated 9th February, 1745, paras. 12, 20, 27-31.

²⁶ Letter to Court, 22nd February, 1746, paras. 33-41.

APPENDIX B.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE.

"1. To the first, viz., whether the Firman granted a right to trade in all articles custom free?

In the affirmative.......Ten voices.

In the negative, with respect to the inland trade.....Two.

2. To the second, viz., whether any customs should be paid on some articles?

In the affirmative......Seven.

In the negative......Five.

3. To the third, viz., whether the Company's Dustuck should be granted for inland trade?

In the affirmative......Nine.
In the negative......Two.

Major Adams, silent.

4. The fourth question, being altered by the determination of the second, stands thus:—

As it is determined, that duties shall be allowed on certain articles, whether certificates shall be granted to those who pay that duty, but are not



Company's servants? and it being accordingly put, the sum of the opinions stands as follow:—

In the affirmative. Messrs. Hay, Cartier, Amyat and the President.—Four voices.

In the negative. Messrs. Watts, Marriot, Johnstone, Hastings, Billers and Batson.—Six voices.

Majors Carnac and Adams, silent.

5_{*} To the fifth and sixth questions, viz., whether the English Gomasthas should be subject to the control of the officers of the Government? and how disputes between them should be settled? The opinion of all the Board, excepting Mr. Hastings, imports, that the English Gomasthas shall not be under any actual control of the officers of the country government, but be restrained by such regulations as may be laid down."

(Consultations, 1st March, 1763.)

APPENDIX C.

PRICES OF ARTICLES.

(I) "The import warehouse-keeper delivers in his account of goods sold by retail in August. Particulars, viz.:—

	Y.	C. Rs.	As.	P.
Broad cloth, fine.	44-2	275	6	0
Do. do. ordinary	10-8	23	10	0
Perpets, ordinary	1-4	. 1	1	6
White flannel	11	12	6	0
Allapeen	9-8	19	0	0
Velvets	8	77	4	9
Broad cloth, fine in pieces	48 pieces	3,933	0	0
Do. do. ordinary yellow	24	1,200	0	0
Perpets, fine scarlet	31	868	0	0
Do. ordinary green	1	19	-0	0
	Total	6,428	12	3 "

(Consultations, 25th September, 1752.)

(II) Broad cloth by retail	98-8	681	11	0
Ditto aurara by retail	5-12	19	6	4
Ditto ordinary do.	38-8	88	14	0



510 HISTORY OF BENGAL SUBAR

	Yds.	C. Rs.	As	P.
Velvets by retail	11-14	99	13	0
Tricre do.	3-0	6	12	0
Brocade do.	8-12	84	6	0
Perpets, Broad	21-14	27	5	6
Scarlet dussil	12-0	60	0	. 0
Perpets, ordinary	4-1	3	8	8
Allapeen	15-0	30	0	0
Flannell	23-4	26	2	6
Duroys in PS. 4	34	0	0	
Broad cloth, fine, in PS	1,242	11	9	
Do. ordinary, in	866	15	6	
Perpets, ordinary in P.	r.	19	0	0
		3.290	9	9 "
(Consultations, 1	1753.)			
"Broad-cloth, fine, by r	etail 70-12	575	2	0
Broad-cloth, ordinary	5-8	12	6	0
Velvets	150-14	1,300	11	9
Brocade	0-8	20	0	0
Broad Perpets, fine	8-0	16	0	0
Broad ditto, ordinary	37-0	46	4	0
Flannel, by retail	17-10	20	5	3
Frieze	2-8	5	10	

		AP	PENI	DIX C			5	11
(IV)			Yds.	Hands.		C. Rs.	As.	P.
	Perpets, f	ine		12-0		18	0	0
	Duroys, 3	Prs.				48	0	0
	Carpets, I					65	0	0
	Broad cloth, fine, 4 prs.				254	8	0	
						2,381	15	0 "
	(Fort W	illiam Con	sult	ations,	5th F	eb., 17	53.	.)
	" Broad-c	loth, fine	22.	8.		166	3	6
	Ditto	ordinar	у 6	141		13	8	0
	Allapeen		7			14	0	0
	White flan	nnel	3.			3	6	0
	Velvet		40.			348	7	6
	Broad-clot	th super-fine	55	pieces		5,197	8	0
	Ditto	ordinary	5	do.		250	0	0
	Broad per	fect, fine	1	do.		50	0	0
	Perpets, f	ine cloth	4	do.		334	0	0
	Flannel s	hawls	3	do.		25	8	0
	Carpets, s	small	9	do.		90	0	0
					C. Rs.	6,632	8	6 "

(Fort William Consultations, 30th October, 1752.)

CENTRAL LIBRARY

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- 1. CONTEMPORARY BENGALI LITERATURE.
- (A) Bhāratacandra's Granthāvalī.—Bhāratacandra occupies an important place in the history of Bengali Literature and his works are full of many valuable incidental references regarding the social, economic and political conditions of Bengal during the mid-eighteenth century. He was born about the year 1712 A.D. in the village called Pñedo-Vasantapur in the Hugli district and died in 1760 A.D.; thus he is a contemporary authority for our period. He was well-read in Sanskrit and Persian and was for several years the court-poet of Mahārājā Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadiā on a monthly allowance of Rs. 40; and thus being connected with court-circles he was acquainted with many contemporary political movements also.
- (B) Rāmaprasāda Sena's Granthāvalī.—Like Bhāratacandra, Rāmaprasāda was a contemporary Bengali poet; he was born somewhere between 1718 and 1723, in the village Kumārhatṭa near Halisahar and died in 1775 A.D. In his writings also we find valuable incidental references to the facts of contemporary social and economic life. He was acquainted with Mahārāja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadiā and with several other rich men living near about Calcutta, but being rather of a

religious turn of mind he did not care much about worldly prosperity.

- (C) Tīrthamangala by Vijayarāma Sena-Visārada. It is a contemporary book of travels in Bengali of much historical value. We know from internal evidences in the book that it was completed in 1177 B.S. (1770 A.D.). A MS. copy written by the author himself four months after its completion has been edited by Srijut Nagendranath Vasu and published by the Vangiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. The author Vijayarāma joined Kṛṣṇacandra Ghoṣāla on a pilgrimage in the year 1769 to the holy places of Northern India and he has given very valuable descriptions regarding the routes followed and the places visited by them. The descriptions being accurate are of much importance for a student of history. Kṛṣṇacandra Ghosāla was the elder brother of Gokulacandra Ghoṣāla, who was the Company's dewan from 27th January, 1767, to 26th December, 1769.
- (D) Rāmeśvara's Śivāyana, written about 1750 A.D. Here also we find important references to the facts of social and economic history of the time. The writer lived under the patronage of Rājā Yaśovanta Singh of Karṇagaḍa in Midnapur in a village named Ayodhyābarh, in the same area.
- (E) Harililā by Jayanārāyaņa Sena. Jayanārāyaņa was a poet of East Bengal, being

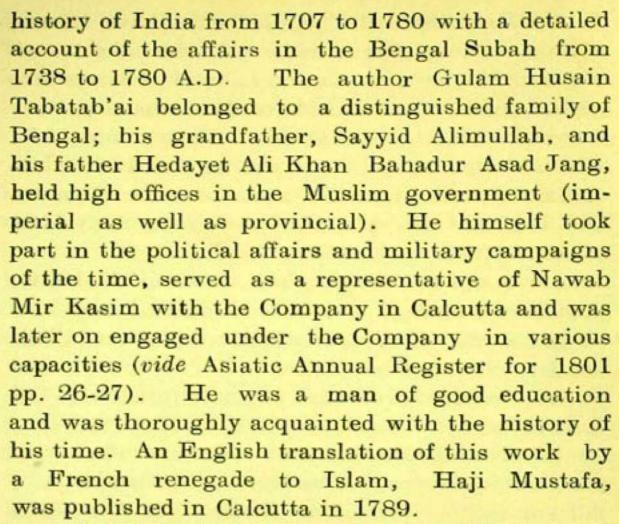


a relative of Rājā Rājballabh of Dacca, and he was a contemporary of Bhāratacandra and Rāmaprasāda Sena. He composed 'Harilīlā' in collaboration with his niece Ānandamayī in the year 1772. This work being an important literary production of Bengal during the mideighteenth century contains many valuable information about contemporary conditions of life in the country. It has been recently published by the University of Calcutta.

- (F) Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇa by Gaṅgārāma (published in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, 1313 B.S., Part IV). It is a highly valuable piece of historical writing, the surviving manuscript of which was completed on Saturday, 14th Pouṣ, 1158 B.S. (December, 1751 A.D.). Gaṅgārāma was an eye-witness of the Maratha ravages in Bengal; he supplies us with many valuable details ragarding these.
- (G) Samasera Gājira Pñuthi.—Samasera Gāji was a contemporary of Nawab Allahvardi of Bengal. The writer of this tract was Gāji's friend and he refers carefully in his work to many contemporary historical facts. This work was published sometime ago in Chittagong.
- (H) Bhavāṇīmangala by Gangānārāyaṇa. An important Bengali manuscript of mid-eighteenth century containing references to contemporary social life. It has been preserved in the Ratan Library, Suri, Birbhum.



- (I) Brhatsārāvalī by Rādhāmādhava Ghoṣa, written during the middle of the eighteenth century. It is a voluminous work having five parts. Srijut Sivaratan Mitra, the famous litterateur of Birbhum, has in his library a copy of it, which I could utilise. The author was an inhabitant of the village named Dasgharā in the Bankura District, and he refers in his work to many facts of contemporary social life.
- (J) Songs of Rāmanidhi Rāya (1741-1834), popularly known as 'Nidubābu's ṭappa,' and also songs of the Kaviwālās like Haru Thākur (1738-1813), Nityānanda Vairāgī (1751-1821) and others, incidentally refer to certain features of contemporary society.
- (K) Extracts from certain contemporary works, such as 'Devīsimhera Utpīdana'; 'Candrakānta'; Ānandamayī's ''Umāra Vivāha''; Jayanātha Ghoṣa's Rājopākhyāna; 'Dvija Kālidāsa's Kālikāmangala'; Kavijivana Maitra's 'Sivāyana'; Narasimha Vasu's Dharmamangala; Adbhutācārya's Rāmāyaṇa; Dvija Bhavāṇi's Rāmāyaṇa, etc., in Dr. D. C. Sen's Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature, Parts I and II.
- (L) S. R. Mitra's Types of Early Bengali Prose (published by the University of Calcutta). It is a collection of old prose writings in Bengali, some of which are of much historical value.
 - 2. Persian Sources.
 - (A) Seir-ul-mutakherin. A highly important

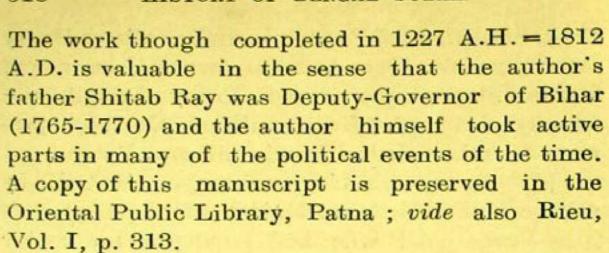


(B) Muzaffarnamah. A detailed history of the Bengal Subah from the time of Nawab Allahvardi to 1772 A.D. when Muhammad Reza Khan, also known as Muzaffar Jang, was deposed by the English. The author Karam Ali states in the preface that he belonged to the family of the Nawabs of Bengal. He was employed under Muzaffar Jang; he notes that he wrote the present work in 1186 A.H.=1772 A.D. in order to remove his grief due to the fate of his patron to whom he dedicated it and after whom it was named. A copy of this manuscript is noticed in



Rieu, Vol. I, p. 313, one in India Office Library Catalogue, No. 47, and another in the Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I have utilised the copy preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

- (C) Ryaz-us-salatin, written in 1786-87 by Gulam Husain Salim of Maldah at the request of Mr. George Udni who had employed him as his Munshi. It is something like a compilation and is therefore less valuable than the two independent histories noted above. An English translation of this work has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- (D) Tarikh-i-Bangala by Sālimullah. This is a history of Bengal from 1107 A.H. to the death of Allahvardi Khan (1169 A.H.). The author states that he wrote this work by order of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal from 1760-1764 (vide Rieu, Vol. I, p. 312). An incomplete and rather incorrect translation of it was published (1788 A. D.) by Francis Gladwin in Calcutta under the title of 'A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal.' A copy of this manuscript is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- (E) Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh by Kalyan Singh. The second bab (part) of this work contains a detailed account of the events of Bengal from the accession of Mir Kasim to the nawabship of Bengal (1760) till the time of the author's deposition from the Deputy-Governorship of Bihar (1783 A.D.).



- (F) Waqai-i-Fath Bangala or Waqai-i-Mahabat Jang by Muhammad Wafa. Manuscript No. 1776 in the Oriental Public Library, Patna. A very important and interesting work, which gives an account of the events which took place immediately before and after the accession of Mahabat Jang Allahvardi to the throne of Bengal brought down to 1161 A.H.=1748 A.D. From internal evidences in the book we gather that the author, a panegyrist of Allahvardi, dedicated the work to him. The State Library of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur contains a copy of this work and we have got a transcript of it through the kindness of His Highness the Chief Minister of that State.
- (F 1) Ahwal-i-Ali-Wirdi-Khan (as mentioned in 'Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts' published by A. S. B., Bibliotheca India Work No. 248) or Tirikhi Mahabat Jang (British Museum Additional MS. No. 27316, Rieu, Vol. I, pp. 311-12). This work gives a very valuable and detailed description about the history of the



Bengal Subah during the mid-eighteenth century, especially about the administration of Allahvardi. I have consulted a copy of it preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; this copy is rather defective as it lacks the first and the last few pages. The name of the author has not been disclosed anywhere in the book; but it is clear from his personal references in several places (f. 8; f. 12 of our copy) that he was connected with the political affairs of Bengal since the time of Sarfaraz Khan. He writes in one place (f. 42) that he had to suspend the work of completing (first 4 folios had been apparently written before) this book till 1177 A.H. (1763 A.D.). He accompanied Mir Kasim to Allahabad where his father died and he himself fell ill; but he resumed the work of writing out the remaining portion during the third quarter of the month of Shaban 1177 A.H. when it was completed. The author is modest enough to crave the indulgence of the reader for inaccuracies or exaggerations. Mr. J. Hindley has ascribed the authorship of the work to Yusuf Ali Khan (a), son of Gulam Ali Khan, an intimate friend of Mahabat Jang Allahvardi; there are of course strong grounds in favour of this opinion. Gulam Husain, the author of the Seir-ul-mutakherin, writes that (b) he describes the

⁽a) Rieu, Vol. I, pp. 311-12.

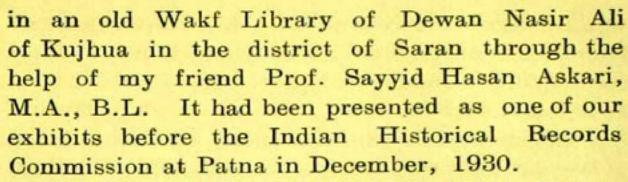
⁽b) Vol. I, pp. 388 (English Translation, Cambay Edn.)



sufferings of the Nawab's troops in their journey from Burdwan to Katwah on the authority of a contemporary memoir writer, Yusuf Ali Khan. It is found that the description that Gulam Husain has included in his work is exactly similar to that given in this manuscript (fs. 34-35). Further, this work seems to have been the principal authority of Gulam Husain for his account of the Maratha invasions of Bengal and also of the Afghan rebellions. The author gives us many new facts and dates as well which are not mentioned by any other contemporary writer. Late Sir H. Elliot, K.C.B., had a copy of Tarikh-Ali-Wardi-Khan (c) i.e., a copy of this manuscript.

of Tajuddin, an inhabitant of Kasbā in paragana Pňacnar in Nadiā district (Bengal). The work is an account of a voyage from Calcutta to London undertaken by the author in the ship of Captain Swinton in the year 1766 with the object of carrying a letter of representation regarding the Dewani from Emperor Shah Alam II to the then King of England. The author who had a long official career in Bengal and Delhi, spent two years and nine months in his journey to England but returned unsuccessful in his mission for reasons which he has narrated in an interesting way. I have utilised the copy preserved

⁽c) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1854. p. 248.



- (H) Bayan-i-Waqai by Khwaja Abdul Karim, who accompanied Nadir Shah and travelled in India, Persia, Arabia and Ceylon, between 1151 and 1156 A. H. (1738-43 A. D.). This manuscript also was obtained by me from the Kujhua Wakf Library and was presented before the Indian Historical Records Commission, December, 1930. An incomplete Engligh translation of it is preserved in the Imperial Library, Calcutta.
- known as Allah Yar Usmani Balgrami (manuscript No. 637 in the Oriental Public Library). This is an extensive geographical work containing detailed historical, biographical and literary information. The author, who was born at Balgram in 1719 A.D., writes in the preface that in 1729 A.D. he entered into the service of Mubarizul-mulk, the Subhadar of Gujrat and till 1773 served successively in the courts of Sadat Ali and Safdar Jang of Oudh, Mir Kasim Khan, Nazim of Bengal, and Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farruk-kabad. In 1776 A.D. he was introduced to Captain Jonathan Scott, who employed him as one



of his munshis and requested him to write this work. This work was lithographed in Lucknow in 1879 A.D. Vide, Elliot, History of India, Vol. VIII, pp. 180-83.

3. Records of the E. I. C. containing a vast mass of data for a correct Social and Economic history of Bengal from the middle of the 18th century onwards. These have appeared to me to be the most valuable of all the sources consulted for this thesis.

(A) Unpublished :-

- (i) Letters to the Court of Directors from Bengal Nos. 10-14 (1740-48 A. D.), (ii) Nawab of Bengal, 1752. Extract of a letter from Robert Clive dealing with certain monetary transactions, cases of death among the Company's civil servants, the necessity of beating the Nawab of Bengal, etc., (iii) Records of Public Department; these include Consultations, General Letters to and from the Court of Directors and various other papers and correspondence, (iv) Letters from the Court of Directors, 1740-64, (v) Bengal Secret Consultations, 1760-65.
- (B) Published:—(i) Rev. J. Long, Selections from unpublished Records of the Government of India, (ii) S. C. Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, Vols. I, II, III. (Indian Records Series), (iii) Bengal and Madras Papers, Vols. II, III (Government of India Publication), (iv) Midnapur and Chittagong



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- (a) Orme, History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, Vol. II.
- (b) Capt. Cope, A New History of the East Indies, London, 1758.
- (c) Stavorinus, Voyage to the East Indies, (1768-1771), Vols. I, II, III.
- (d) Edward Ives' Voyage from England to India in the year 1754. London, 1773.
- (e) Indian Tracts by John Zephaniah Holwell. London, 1774.
- (f) J. Z. Holwell, Interesting Historical Events relating to the Provinces of Bengal and the Empire of Indostan, 3 parts.
- (g) Vansittart's Narrative, Vols. I, II, III. London, 1766.
- (h) Verelst, A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal. London, 1772.
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- (l) Scrafton, Reflections on the Government of Indostan. London, 1763.
- (m) Scrafton, Observations on Vansittart's Narrative.
- (n) Parker, The History of the War in India, between Serajdowlah, Nawab of Bengal, and the English. With an account of the customs and manners of the inhabitants of India. London, 1789.
- (o) Abbe de Guyon, A New History of the East Indies, 2 vols. London, 1757.
- (p) Rennel, Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar. London, 1778.
- (q) Rennel's Journals (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1910). Edited by T. D. LaTouche.
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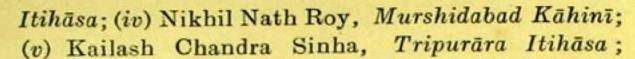
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(B) Bengali:—(i) Kṣitīśavamśāvalīcarita; (i.a) Rājibalocana, Kṛṣnacandracarita; (ii) Srīhaṭṭera Itibṛtta by Achyuta Charan Chowdhry; (iii) K. P. Bandopadhyaya, Nabābī Āmalera Bāngālāra



(vi) D. C. Sen, Bangabhāṣā o Sāhitya.

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- (A) English:—Bengal: Past and Present; Calcutta Review; Journals and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journals; Modern Review.
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7. Maps:--

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- (B) Maps in the District Gazetteers.
- (C) Government of India Survey Maps.
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 - (B) Wilson, Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms.



INDEX

A

Abbe de Guoyn, on sugar, 441n. Abbe Raynal, 368n Abdul Karim, 98n Abhimanyu Sāmanta Simha, 15-16. Abyssinia, slaves of, 497 Adam, W., survey of education. 6. Adampur, 446 Adams, Major, 508, 509 89n, Adbhutācārya, 76n, 90n Adhivāsa, 55 Afghans, leader of, 190

influence on the English of the rebellion of, 293-94.

Agnistoma, 26

Agricultural implements, 448
Bhāratacandra and
Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇa
on, 448n.

Agricultural processes and practices described, 449 Agricultural products, 441, 442.

> localisation of, 442 of Rangpur, 442 of Purneah, 443, 444 of Jessore, 444 of Nadia, 445 of Pabna, 445 of Dacca, 445 export of, 451, 451n prices of, 463, 464

rise in the prices of, 464. Agriculture, Section III, 432 place of, in economic life, 440 Dow on, 440 Orme on, 440, 441 area under cultivation, as affected by Mara-Portuguese thas, and Mugs, 450. decline of, causes, 451 not attended to by E. I. Co., 451. attention of E. I. Co. on, 451,

Ahalyā Bāi, 26 Ahwal-i-Ali-Wirdi Khan of Yusuf Ali Khan, a note on, 519.

Ainggrah, price of, 473
Ain-i-Akbari, referred to,
452n.

Ajodhyārāma Sena, 25, 26 Ālamcandra, 36 Alam Khan, 100n Alaṅkāra, 4

Albert, Mr., 233n Alexander, 100n

Ali, Baquir, 273

Muhammad, Collector of Dacca, 314. description of trade abuses, 314-15. adopts strong measures towards Co.'s servants, 323.



Ali, Sayyid Rajab, his description of the evils and anomalies in trade, 315-16.

"Shijr, faujdar of Jangipur, dismissal of, 326.

Alinagar, 94

Allahvardi, 18, 19, 20, 37, 94, 98, 99, 101, 102, 272, 438.

effects of his usurpation on British Co.'s trade, 272-78.

Allapeen, price of, 509, 510, 511.

Almonds, 470 Aloe-wood, 452

Altā, 85

Altham, Mr. James, 251

Alum, Kutub, faujdar of Rajmahal, 323

Alwal, 93

Aly Ibrahim Khan, 77n

Aly Verdy, see Allahvardi

Āmlakī, 83 Ambhi, 100n

Amidabad, 447n

Amphlett, 323

Amyatt, Mr., 213, 331, 508 Anandamayī, 4, 25, 26, 39,

85n, 87n, 514.

Anandiram, banker, 202

Anantarāma Sarmā, 1, 8

Andula, 15

Annadāmangala, 3, 46

Antoon, Coja, punishment

of, 311.

Aptābuddin, 96 Arabic, 7, 22, 23, 84

Aracan, 93, 244

captives carried to, 499

Arahara, a kind of rabi crop, 448.

Arcot rupees, 206 Arithmetic, 5, 9

Armenia, 259

Armenians, 228

complaints their against the Eng-

lish, 278, 283.

their refusal to comwith the promise English, 284-85.

slave trade and, 498

Arti River, paddy on the

sides of, 445.

cotton production, 445 Asiatic countries, disorder in the, 259-60.

Asmaviveka, 11

Assamee, oppression on them by the Co.'s gomastas,

213n, 318-19. Astrology, 4, 21, 98

Atara, 90

Aumils, oppressions of,

Aunoopanian, Raja, 294 Aurangs, 108, 139, 140, 186,

296, 319.

starting of new, to meet high demands, 127.

advance to the different, 131.

committee formed to manage, 135.

quantity of goods purchased at the different, 136.

at Buddal, 137

at Harial, 137

at Maldah, 137

at Dhaniakhali, 138

at Khirpai, 128

at Baranagore, 140

at Haripal, 141

at Santipur, 141 at Sonamukhi, 141

increased activity of the, 145-46.

for putton, 140 for Gurrah, 196



Stavorinus' view on the working of, 434. deserted owing to Maratha invasions, 436, 437.

Aurangzeb, 93 Ayer Noody, 105n Azimabad (Patna), 19, 20, 21, 23, 95. Azimganj, products of, 446

B

Babar, 100n Baftas, 236 Baganbarry, 443 Bagbazar, 456 Bāghāi Koṭāl, 455 Baghdad, Basha of, 259 Murangi-Bāhāduri, see wood, 453 Baharband zamindars, 443n Baillie, Mr. William, 214 Bajra, type of boats, 435 a kind of Bākāi-Buyāli, paddy, 442n Bakergunje, 228, 295 Balai-bhoga, a kind of paddy, 442n. Balasore stone dishes and cups, 459. Weavers at, 467 Bali, 15 Balrumgurrhy, 467 Balycotma, 187 Bambapore, Zamindar of, 238. Bandannoes, 189 flowered, 191 Bandorse, betel at, 445 Banians, 214, 475, 485 wages of, 479

Bankura, cotton production in, 448. Barabati, 448 Barasat, 444 Barbakabad, 452n Barbaksing, see Barbucksing Barber, pay of, 482 Barbucksing, 448 Bargis, see Marathas Barkandazes, 325 Barker, Mr., 212n Barley, prices of, 448, 463, 474 Barns, see Golas Barwell, Mr., 213, 375 Basak, Gokul, 220 Batadāra, 455 Batavia, export of wheat to, 442.Bateese Hazary, jungles at, Batson, Mr., 508 Batta, 487 Bayani-i-Waqai, a note on, 521.Bazar(s), 454 at Natore, 454n at Govindapur, 457 Dee Calcutta, 458.See also Markets Bearer, pay of, 482 Becher, Mr. Richard, 133, 135, 214, 482. Bedasonga, Durgaram, 106n Bedroom equipments, 89 ff. Beg, Carooly, 283, 288 his mediation on behalf of the English, 282.89. Hukum, 282, 288 his mediation on behalf of English, 282-89.

Begumbazar, 456

Bihar, 21



process of opium production at, 44n.

Behulā Sundarī, 96

Beldar Sitabdi, see Bildar Satubdy.

Bellamy, Mr. Humphrey, 241.

Mr. Thomas, 242

Benares, 26

Bengāduva, 492

Bengal, 1, 26, 30, 37, 99, 100, 104.

change of Government in, 145.

Secret consultations and evidences of oppressions of gomastas in, 146.

Bengal, articles of trade, 256-58.

trade with Asiatic countries, 256-58

political changes in, 260.

inter-provincial trade of, 265-66.

references in contemporary literature about the manufactures, industries and handicrafts of, 267-70: 417 ff.

causes of decline of inter-provincial trade of, 270-71.

places of piecegoods manufacture in, 419-23.

import of cotton into, 427-29.

cotton-growing tracts of, 429.

subsidiary manufactures of, 430.

gunpowder manufacture in, 433. boat-making in, 434 ice manufacture in, 435.

decline, 437, 438,

effect of Maratha invasions on manufacturers of, 437.

agriculture of, Sec. III,

agriculture in economic life of, 440.

advantages in agriculture of, 440.

sugar manufacture in, 441n.

agricultural products of, 441.

types of paddy in,441n sugar production centres in, 441n.

production of wheat in, 442.

export of wheat from, 442.

decline of wheat production, 442.

decline of wheat export, 442.

Rabi crops of, 448 Orme on exports from,

exports from, 451, 452.

451.

wheat exported from, 452.

rice exported from,

wheat of, competing with Cape of Good Hope corn, 452.

forest products of, 452 markets in, Sec. IV, 454 prices of articles in,

Sec. IV, 454



effects of Maratha invasions on, 466, 467, 468, 469. miseries of people in, 469.famines in, 473 plan for workers' corporate bodies in, 490. communities village in, 492. regulations for workers' bodies in, 422, 491. slavery in, 492 ff. position of slaves in, 495. Abbysinian slaves in, 495. Mug depredations in, slaves imported into, 500. contemporary literature of, 512 ff. history of, Persian sources, 515 ff. list of English books on, 522 ff. list of Bengali books on, 527 ff. Bengali, 4, 5, 7, 15, 27 Bengal: Past and Present, miseries of slaves on in European families. 501. Beni Bahadur, 103, 104, 104n. Bentinck, 6 Berhampore, construction of fort at, 486. fortification, Clive on, 487. Besarah, 19 Betel, cultivation of, 442 at Rangpur, 443 at Oliyapur, 443

at Chaldibraya, 444

at Sunapara, 445 at Gaurnadi, 446 at Osunpur, leaves, 447. at Chundergunj, 447 Cassidya, 446n, at 447. Betel-nut at Azımpur, 446 Bhaduri, Ramnath, Naib of Dinajpur, 325. Bhāgavata, 81n, 84n, 85n, 86n, 87n. Bhāgavatīgītā, 12 Bhagawangola market, 455n, Bhagyamanta Dhupi, 8 Bhāratacandra, 3, 4, 10, 14, 17, 25, 36, 44, 46, 76n, 79n, 80, 80n, 81n, 84n, 85n, 86n, 90n, 96, 97n. on rabi crops, 448n on commodities of daily, use, 454n. on high prices, 468 Works of, 468 Granthāvalī of, a note on, 512. Bhātpāda, 15 Bhats, 54 Bhattacarya, Gopal, 239 Bhattācārya, Manohar, 239 Bhattikāvyam, 3 Bhavananda Majumdar, 45, 79n. Bhavāṇī, Dvija, 2 Rani, of Natore, 26, 31, 35, 52, 419. 456. Bhavānīmangala, 34, 85n, of Gangānārāyaņa, a note on. 514. Bhavanipura, 36 Bhenot, 463

Bhūgolavarnanā, 13



Bhūrsūt, 36 Bhuṣṇā Pargana, 455n Bhuṣṇāi, a kind of cloth, 455.

Bhutan, timber from mountains of, 453.

Bicitrā, 99n Bihar, 24

Bihar, saltpetre supplies of, 433n.

Slavery in, 500
Bilātī, see Foreign
Bilder Satubdy, 485
Bill of Exchange, 199
Billers, Mr., 508
Binetty island, paddy at,

445. Cotton at, 446

Rennel on, 446n Biramdatta, 285

Birbhum, iron manufactories in, 433.

Cotton at, 448

Bisdom, Mr., 377

Bishnupur, Raja of, his exactions from the English, 297.

Biswas, Mohon, 201 Narayan, 207 Raghunath, 207

Blackford, Mr. James, 244.

Blacksmiths, works of, described by Ives, Craufurd and Stavorinus, 433.

Bñāk-cuḍā, a kind of paddy, 442n.

Bňak-śāli, a kind of paddy, 442n.

Boats, construction of, in Bengal, 434. building industry, 434

kind of, 434 Stavorinus on, 434n Bodāi, 492

Bogle, Mr., on the trade of Tibet, 258n.

Bogra, 452n

Bokory, Sayyid Jalal, his obstructions to the Company's business, 325.

Bolts, 46

Considerations on Indians Affairs, 258n. remarks of, 305 on salt monopoly plan of Select Committee, 364.

on cowries, 464n

Bombay, 204 medium of exchange in, 464n.

servants in, 476, 477

Boston, Mr., 331 Boubhāta, 66

Bourbon, expedition to, 501

Bowānganj, 456 Brahmaputra, 443

Braja Nātha Barajena, 15

Brego, sergeant, letter of, to the Governor in Calcutta, 312n.

Brhatsārāvalī of Rādhāmādhava Ghoşa, a note on, 515.

Bride, instructions to the, by parents, 64-5.

no hand in choice of grooms, 70-71.

Bridegroom, dress, 57 home-coming, 64 Brndāvanayamakam, 10

Broad cloth, price of, 509, 510, 511.

Brocade, price of, 510

Brohier, plan of repayment of wages, 486.

defects of, 487 on the value of coins, 487.



Broker, abolition of the office of, 197. Brooke, Mr., Wadham, 191, 283, 284. negotiations with the Nawab for payments, 284 ff. Brown, Mr., 213 Buchanan Hamilton, 24 Bucknall, Mr. William, 226 Buffaloes, for cultivation, 448. Buildings, ebony used for, 452. Bullion, 192 Bulramgurry, 143, 435 Burdwan, 1 catuspāthī in, 3, 36 cotton at, 448 markets in, 454 commodities at market of, 455. articles at foreign market of, 455. kinds of cloth at market of, 455. high prices in, 468 Buriganga river, 447 Bussundri, a sugar production centre, 441n.

Busted, on Abyssinian slaves, 497. Buxeries, 283 Buxeyconnah, 105n

C

Cajan leaves, 476
Cākrān lands, 484, 484n
Cakravarti, Rāghavendra,
494.
Calcutta, 25, 31, 105, 105n,
186, 282, 299, 300, 324,
444.

markets in, 456 farming of bazars in, 457-61. farming corrupted, 461 scarcity of grain in, 471 prices fixed at, 472 wages in, 479, 480 rise of wages in, 480 meeting of Zamindars at, 481. proposed maintenance of a Register of servants in, 483, 484. Regulations for coolies in, 488. Regulations for vants in, 481. slave market in, 498 Cāmara-dhālī, kind a paddy, 441n. Campion, Mr. Henry, 294 Canals, in the Sundarbans, 401-05. Candana-śālī, a kind of paddy, 441n. Candikāvya, 5, 80n Candrakānta, 84n, 86n references in, about Bengal's trade, 268. Cane (sugar) fibres, as byeproducts, 441n. Cannant Nurry, 105n Cāpās, see Cotton Cape of Good Hope, corn trade of, 462. Cardamom, 452 Carnac, General, 237, 382 Major, 508. Carpets, price of, 511 Carraccioli, on the employment of roundel boys, 476 n. Cartier, Mr., 238, 385, 508 Cāsāstras, 448 Cassia leaf, 452

Cassidya, 448



Cassimbazar, 50, 127, 186, 187, 188, 282, 284, 299, 437, 456n. factories, for supplies, 472.recovery of advances to coolies, 484. Castes, of servants, 477 division of functions, 488. Cattle, in Purneah, 434 Catuspāthīs, their form and nature, 3. Cazir-Gatch, 444n Chabdars, 478 pay of, 482. Chaitan Das. 105 n Chaldibraya, cocoanuts at, 444. betels at, 444 Chanderganj, 447 Chandernagore, 485 Chandpur, cloths of, 234, Rennel on, 446n, 446. Chaudree Lilmoni, 106 n Chanks, 460 price of, 472n, 473 Charles Bazar, 456 Chatra-sālī, a kind of paddy, 442n. Chevalier, Mr., trades in salt, 307. of Complaint Nawab and Hastings 308-309, against, 315.Chilmaree, 307, 309, 443 "China-root," 452 explained, 452 n Chinsurah, 47 Chintz, 213 Chittagong, 93, 94, 96, 236, 313 letter from the Chief and Council of, describing the tyranny of

Nawab's officers, 320.

Cholā, a kind of rabi crop, 448. Chowdree, 490 Chowkey, 203, 317 on company's trade, at Rangasoula, 298 abolition of, 471 Christian missionaries, 24 Chronicle, East India, capture of men for slavery, 499. Chundermun, 316 Chunnurah, Creek, 445 Chuprah, 213n, 374 Church, Portuguese, 446n Charu Bysack, 105n Cinnamon, price of, 470 Clerimbault, Mr. Nicholas, 232.Clive, 30, 237 Berhampore fortion fication, 487n. Cloths, kinds of, 455 of Dacca, 455n of Maldah, 455n duties on, 457 Cloves, price of, 470 Coachman, 478 pay of, 482 Cochymeda, tobacco production in, 442. ganj of, 442 Cocker, 6 Cocoanut. Chaldibraya, at 444.at Jingergatcha, 444n Codaly, 448 Coffee, price of, 472 Coffre boy slaves, 497 Cogmaria, 250 Coins, 463 Coins, wages paid in, 484 fluctuating value of, 487 exchange value of, 487

copper, value of, 487



Coir, 472, 472 n Cokenill, price of, 472 Cole, Mr., 212 maladministration of, 370. Colinda, 246 cultivation of cotton, 447. tithe of, 471. gal, 495n. Mathabhanga. Comere, see Mathabhanga Comic ballads, 8 Commodities, at markets, 454. 454, 454n, 455. 455. market, 455. of luxury, 454, 455 duties levied on, 457 459, 460. types of, 461 prices of, 463, 464 scarcity of, 467, 468 rising prices of, 470 prices of, 472, 509, 510, 511. prices fixed, 472, 478

manufacture of cloth, import of cotton to, 447 Collectors, abolition of the Colombo, position of slaves compared to that of Ben-Comer, Eastern, 445; see of daily consumption, Burdwan market, foreign, at Burdwan exported and imported, Communications, land and water, 387-416. through river creeks, 396-400. Dow on facilities of, 408-09. postal, 413-16.

Company (English), sorting of the goods of the, 108defects in sorting, 110-11 strict control over its merchants by the, 123 - 24.quarrels of Sirajuddowla and the, 142-43. the, 145, 304. accounts of, 188 ff. exclusive trade in Asia. tic countries, 264 complaint to the Naib Faujdar by the vakils of, 298. retaliatory measures of the people of the, 298-99. asserts its superior rights, 299-301. abuse of dastaks by the servants of the, 301-03. investments of 306, 502 ff. increased illegal trade and abuses by servants of, 310. the Nawab's complaint to the Governor of, 17-18. Kasim's order about the trade of. 326.regulation of imports and exports and internal trade of the Co. by Mir Kasim and Vansittart, 327-29. advantages in the trade of, 329-30. conflicts between Nawab's officers and, 331-32.



Dustucks of, 333 Factors of the Co. and their oppression, 346-47. establishments monopoly of salt, betelnut and tobacco, 354-59. quarrel of the Dutch and the English at Patna, 368-69. troubles of the English, 371 - 72.contract with chand for the purchase of saltpetre, 381-82. obtains absolute control over saltpetre trade in Bihar, 385. servants of the, responsibility for economic decline, 438. competition between different ones, 469. remission of duties of, 471. proposed maintenance of a Register of servants by, 483, 484. for regulation of, servants, 481. for coolies, 488 cooly shades constructed by, 489. list of expenditure, 497. on cases of unlawful slavery, 480, 500, 501. See also East India Company. Compidore, servants, 475 functions and pay of, 477.

Conucopola, 475 Contemporary literature, on education, 3. Cooks, 478 pay of, 482 Coolies, wages of, 479 rewarded, 485, 485n advance payments to, 485. importation of, 485 of paying method wages, 485. abuses of, 486 William, Fort 486. Regulations for, 488 evening musters of, 488, 489. payments of, 489 sheds for, 489 Ives on, 490 scarcity of, 489, 490 by unpaid, often zamindars, 489. Copper, 459 price of, 472 coins, value of, 487 Coreegaum, 309 Corn, markets of, 456 Cossajura, 228 doreas, 228 goods, 118 Cotch, 460 price of, 470 Cotton, 186 price of, 186 bales of, 187 Bengal, import into 427-428. industries, 436 decline of, 436 influence of Maratha invasions on, 436-Cotton, cultivation of, 442 at Mahespunda, 444



grown on sides of Arti

cultivation in Dacca,

in Jafarganj, 443

in Binetty island,

in Dacca district,

at Colinda and Chandergunj, 447.

import of, to Colinda,

production of, in Birbhum, 448.

> in Burdwan, 448 in Bankura, 448

price of, 472

Council at Calcutta, formulate new terms of investments, 121-22.

gives instruction to the English Factors, 123.

maintains strict control over the subordinate factories, 124-26.

Council in Calcutta, changes the method of investment, 128-31.

> despatches Lt. John Harding to protect English boats, 295.

of English traders at Silhet, 313.

members guided by self-interest, 331-32.

denounces the agreement of the Nawab, 332-33.

its resolution on the abolition of duties, 337.

President and Hastings, 337-38.

opinion of the Directors on the conduct of the members of, 340-41.

Patna Factors, 345-46.

regulates internal trade of Co.'s agents, 350-51.

allows its servants to trade in salt on a nominal duty, 352-53.

letter from Court of Directors, 433.

Letter from Cassimbazar, 437.

Letter to Court of Directors, 451.

on Govindaram's guilt, 462.

on effects of Maratha invasions, 466.

on rise of prices, 466,

on remission of duties, 467.

remission of customs by, 471.

methods adopted for relieving distress by, 471.

on recovery of advances to coolies, 485.

on copper coins, 487 plan for workers' corporate bodies, 490.

Court of Directors, 196,

opinion on the new method of investment, 131-34.



orders the formation of a supervising committee to regulate and control factory servants, 133-35.

of the Nawab and Calcutta Council, 339

Council, 349-50.

rejects the monopoly plan of Select Committee, 366-67.

on the saltpetre contract with Omichand, 383.

on gun manufacture, 433.

Court of Zamindary, 481 Court in, M., 144 Cowdung, as manure, 449 Cowries, price of, 250

> as medium of exchange, 460, 463, 463n, 464n.

rate of exchange of, 464n.

wages paid in, 472 484 Craufurd, on blacksmiths, etc., 433.

> on primary education, 5 on Sati, 47, 51

on dress, 76n, 81, 81n, 87n.

Crutchpurdars (servants), 478, pay of, 482.

Cruttenden, on Govindaram Mittra's guilt, 461, 462.

Cuā, 83, 90

Cultivation, area under, 440n.

Curoy Bissas, 105n

Customs duties, remission of,

masters, 471 question of, 507 D

Dācāiā, a kind of cloth, 455 Dacca, 7, 80. 88n, 305, 446n, 447, 452n.

troubles of the factors of, 143-44.

Deputy nawab of, 295 behaviour of the English factors at, 313.

complaints of the factory at, 320.

position of, in manufacture of Muslims, 423-27.

economic decline of, 439 agricultural products,

445, 446. cloths of, 455n

different companies at, 469.

factory called for further suplies, 472

Dādhyātaka Bhakti, 16

Dadni, 112, 113, 114, 116-119, 123.

> money, 188 contract, 294 merchants, 300

Dafadars, 488

Dāk, 414

runners, 414, 416 Dālāls, 112, 233, 234, 319

method of investment through, 114, 115. hindrance to the Co.'s trade by dālāls, 115.

of the factory of Ishanabad, 319.

imprisonment of the dālāls of Shengunje,

Dammer, 460 price of, 472, 472n



Damra, 433 Dānādārs, piece of, 189 Dancing girls, 94, 94n Dandis, 216 Daroga, Shahbunder, 307 Dārvangī, 442n Das, Chaithon. 105n Das, Ramcharan, 320 Dasmasa rupees, 196 Dastaks, 295, 507 abuse of, 301-303 appointment of peons to carry, 306. efforts to check abuse of. 306-07. 317, 321, 323, 327-28. of the condemnation abuse of, by Directors 339-40. Co.'s servants to trade with bona-fide ones, 349. Dasturi, 486 Dates, price of, 472 Datta, Durgaram, 105n Kishanchand, 231 Lakshmikanta, 231 Loknātha, 7 Daud-ali khan, 19 Daulat khan, 100n Davy, Sergeant Damy, 234 Dawson, Mr., 225, 292. Deepchand, 213, 370 purchase of saltpetre by and English Dutch from, 373-74. Dellos, see Dālāls. Demar boy (servants). functions and pay of, 477 Deocha, see Dyoucha Darwan, 475 functions and pay of, 477 Devanandapura, 17 Devayānī Upākhyāna, 7 Devī Simha, 37 Dewanganj, 443

Dewani, 24, 104 18, Dharmamangala, Dhñeri-jhumkā, 86 Dhunya, 442n Dhusturā, 442n Diaram Bose, 805n Dinajpur, English Gomastas at, 325. Dobbries. Mr., establishment of factories by, 347-48 oppressions of, 347-48 Dobhapara Bazar, 456 Documents relating slavery, 492, 493, 494. Doordaneh Begum, 37 Dooreas, 227 Doosooties, price of, 191 Dow, 29, 238 on agriculture, 440 Hindoostan of, referred to, 440n. on area under cultivation, 440n. Dowry, 71 Doycally, 446 Drabbe, Mr. 371 agrees to supply saltpetre to the English, 372, proposes to purchase saltpetre from Deepchand, 374. Drake, 105n, 466, 486 Drāvida, scholars from, at Burdwan catuspāțhī, 3. Dress, 75-91 of the middle class, 75 of the rich, 75 Hindusthani, 71 ceremonial, 78-79 dressing rooms, 79, of scholars, 79 of women, 80 ff. Drugs, exported from Bengal, 451n. Dry nurses, 478



Dubash, 475
Dudha-rājā, a kind of paddy,
441n.
Dulob Lucky, 105n

Dulpatray, 298

Durgā-bhoga, a kind of paddy, 441n.

Durlabhram, complaint of, against gomastas in Silhet, 316.

Dussehra (Dasaharā), 290

Dutch East India Company, 48, 49.

imports of, 77n

advantages of, over English, 262.

Competition with English, 262.

Supply of goods by English Co.'s servants, 302.

Quarrel over saltpetre trade, 368-69, 371.

Supply of saltpetre to English, 372-73.

Directorate at Hugli, agrees to buy saltpetre from Deepchand, 373-74.

Duties on market commodities, 457, 458.

> rate of, on market commodities, 457, 458.

on exports, 457

at Sutanati market,

Holwell on rates of, 457n.

on imported and exported commodities, 459.

kinds of, 458, 459

on sugar, wheat, wax and tobacco, 460.

things and shops on which levied, 461. remission of, 465, 467, 471.

Holwell on remission of, 465n.
Rise of prices due to, 465, 466.
imposition of heavy, 469.
question of, 507

Dvija Bhavānanda, 7 Dvija Bhavāṇī, 2, 84n Dvija Vamsivadana. Manasāmangala of, 434n.

Dyoucha, 433

D

Earrings, 86
East India Company, 103, 104, 106.

economic decline, 439.

neglect of agriculture, 451.

takes interest in agriculture, 451.

exports agricultural products, 451.

method of farming, 461 records of, a note on, 522.

See also Company

Ebony, 452

Economic decline, of Bengal, 438, 439.

a sequel to political disorders, 439.

aggravated by E. I. Co., 439.

of Dacca, Rennel on,

life of Bengal, place of agriculture in, 440.



Education, ideas and institutions, 1-28.

depending on private initiative and encouragement, 1-3.

stages in the educational career of a Sanskrit scholar, 3-4.

primary, 5-7 widespread, 7-9

Sanskrit and Bengali MSS. on, 9-13.

indirect cause of, 13 important centres of,

14-16. Prevalence of European languages, 24-25.

Female (education), 25-28.

Edward Ives, 24

Egypt, 259

Ekādaśībrata, 52

Elambazar, 210

Elephant teeth, price of, 472 Ellis, Mr., describes the tyranny of the Nawab's officers, 319.

> seizes officers of the Nawab, 331-32.

English, 30, 100, 100n, 102n, 103, 104, 104n.

trade of the, in the Hugli river, 292.

Companies, competition with, 469.

Englishmen, in slave trade, 498.

Ensign, English, 195 Muir, 205

Europe, 188

iron from, 473

European, Companies, rivals of the English in saltpetre trade, 368-69.

> languages, 24 powers, 99

Exchange, medium of, 463
value of coins, 487
Exports, of Bengal, 256
of agricultural products, 451, 452.
articles of, 451n
Exports, Stavorinus on, 451n
Orme on, 451n
of Drugs, 451n
duties on, 457, 459,

F

460.

Factories, of the Dutch, 107
of the French, 107
of the English, 108
English, and their investments, 107-64.
history of the important ones, 186-255
at Cassimbazar, 186, 211.
at Patna, 211-26
at Dacca, 226-38
at Santinur, 288-30

at Santipur, 238-39 at Jugdea, 239-49, 281

at Balasore, 249-55 at Bulrumgurry, 249-

55. subordinate English ones, 332-33.

at Surul, 448

Fāl, 448

Famine, of 1751, 466

Farming of Gunio

of Sutanati, 458n of Calcutta Bazars, 458, 459.

methods of, corrupted, 461.

Govindaram Mitra and, 461, 462.

Farrukhsiyar, firman of, 224



Fatechand, 188 Feake, Mr., 229 Female Education, 25-28 a private concern, 28 Feringybazar. 447 Ferzana, 95 Firman, of 1716-17, 223, 321 interpreted wrongly by Council in Calcutta, 340. opinion of the Court of Directors on, 340-41. true meaning and significance, 341-42. application of, to the Co.'s internal trade. extent of grants by, 507. Fish, 458 Flannel, white, price of, 509, 510, 511. shawls, price of, 511 Fleurin, M., intervention of, favour of English factors at Dacca, 144-45. Floods, 466 Flowers, used in hair-dressing, 83. Foods, scarcity of, 468 in Calcutta, 471 supply of, to workers, 480.

Forest, product, 452, 453 at Sarkar Bazuha, 452 at Marang and Bateese Hazary, 453.

Foreign, articles at Burdwan

merchants, 455, 466

market, 455.

Forster, Mr. John, 187 Fort, St. David, 200 St. George, 195 at Berhampore, 486 William, coolies at, 486 withdrawing of coolies from, 487.

Frankincense, 473 Frankland, Mr., 135 William, 481

French, help the English factors at Dacca, 144.
in Bengal, 191n supply of goods under English dastaks to, 302.
rivalry with English in saltpetre trade, 370-

71. French, competition with, 469, 292, 299.

Fresindi, sugar production centre, 441n.

Frieze, price of, 510

Fruits, cultivation of, 441, 452

Fulta, 104n Futwah, 456n

plunder of the Marathas at, 372

G

Gadasimha, 11
Gāji, 97
Gandha-mālatī, a kind of paddy, 441n
Gaṅgādāsa, 10
Gaṅgādāsa-gītā, 10
Gaṅgādāsa Sena, 7
Gaṅgānārāyaṇa, 34, 84n
Bhavaṇīmaṅgala of, a note on, 514.
Gaṅgārāma, 107
Tagore, 104n
on the effects of Maratha invasions 467

on the effects of Maratha invasions, 467. Mahārāsṭrapurāṇa of, a note on, 514.



Ganges, 95, 446 n the cultivation on sides of, 445. Ganj, of Cochymeda, 442 Gāñja, 467 Gasthola Bazar, 457 Gaull, 473 Gauri-kājal, a kind of paddy, 441 n Gaurinadi, betels at, 446 Rennel on, 446n Gaya, 90 Gaya-bati, a kind of paddy, 441 n. Gazipur, 323 Gems, 455 Gentoo, 470 Georgia, 259 George III, 24 German, 292 Ghāguris, 81 Ghanarāma, 88 n Gharajāmātās, 67 Ghee, 456 price of, 464, 474 Ghosa, Rāmaprasāda, 231 2, Vadancandra, Ghose, 11. Gulam Husain, a note on Seir-ul-Mutakharin of. 515, 516. Ghulam Husain Salim, Ryaz-us-salatin note on of, 517. Ginger, 460 Ginghams, 254 Girdā, 89 Wilson's, 126 n, Glossary, 200 n. Goddard, Mr., 214 Godowns, 191 Golās, 485 Gold thread, 478 Gomastas (Co.'s), 105, 105 n, 126, 127, 136, 141, 188, 305, 310-13, 314-15.

oppressions of the, 146 of Fatehchand, 188 imprisonment of the English, 296. frauds of the, 306 insolent behaviour of the g.'s at Dacca, 312-13. their practice of barja, and kichaunt, 314. tyranny of Nawab's officers over, 319. killing of Mr. Gray's, 326.increase of the oppressions of the Co.'s, 343.Mir Jafar's efforts to control the English, 344-45. proceedings unlawful of the Co.'s, 346-47. Khwaja Wajid's, 380-81. blame on, 438 responsibility for economic decline of the, 438.control of English, 507 Gondalpādā, 15 Gones Bose, 105 n Gopāla-bhoga, kind B paddy, 441 n. Gopāla Nyāyālankāra, 14 Gopalpur. See Bandorse. Goraghat, 441 n Gordon, Mr., 217 Govindapur, bazar in, 457 Govindram, 105 n Grain, markets of, 456 customs duty on, 456 scarcity of, 471. Grain, cultivation of, 444 duties on, 460. Grammar, 3 Grand Jury, on distress of



the people due to scarcity of food, 471. Grant, Captain, 115 n, 238 Granthāvalī, of Bhāratacandra, a note on, 512. of Rāmaprasāda, a note on, 512. Grass-cutters, 478 pay of, 482 Gray, Mr. George, 311 Grooms, 478 Grose, Voyage to the East Indies, 226 n, 368 n. Gum Arabic, 473 Gumley, Mr. John, 226 Gunje, 457 duties levied at, 457 income from, 457 n Gunpowder, mauufacture of, 433. Gunnies, duties on, 460 Gurgoree, 445 Gurrahs, 119, 141, 186, 187 become rare, 437. Guyā-thupi, a kind of paddy, Guyon, Abbe de, 422 n, 427

H

Habbaspur, 445 Habiganj, 446 n Hadiqat-ul-Agalim, on spices, 441 n. a note on, 521 Hait Beg, 19 Hair-dressing, 182 use of flowers in, 83 Haji, Ahmad, 38, 218 Bediuddin, 21 Mustafa, 21, 77, 85 n on ice manufacture. 435. Hajiganj, 444, 446 Hajiruhattee, 294

Halsey, Mr., 188 kind of Halud-gňudā, a paddy, 441 n Hamidulla, 93, 96 Robert, Hamilton. Capt. 299.Hampton, Mr. Charles, 240 Harakchand, 381 Harakuli, a kind of paddy, 441 n. Harding, Lt. John, 295 Harideva Tarkālankāra, 26 Harilīiā, 5, 25, 84 n, 85 n, 86 n. of Jayanārāyana, a note on, 513. Harirāma Tarkasiddhānta, 14. Harisankara, 441 n Harivamsa, 8 Harry-wench, 478 Mr. Warren, Hastings, against abuses in English trade, 307. of, complaint against Chevalier, 309. conduct the of on Nawab's officers. 322 n. settlement Mir with Kasim, 327-29. Mir upholds Kasim's action, 337-38, 508. Hāti-nād, a kind of paddy, 441 n. Hati-pāñjar, a kind of paddy, Hati Vidyālankār, 26, 27 Hātkhola Bazar, 456 Hay, Mr., 508 Hazarimal, Babu, 471 advance of money by,

472.

3-4,

Heath, Mr., 123, 251

Higher Hindu Education,



Hill, S. C., 107 n Hindi, 15 Hindostan, of Dow, referred to, 440 n. Hindu, higher education, and its stages, 3-4. relations with Muhammadans, 92-106. aristocrats, 100, 100 n, 102, 104, 105. assimilative Hinduism. power of, 92. Hindusthan, 20 Hirā Mālinī, 45 Hñici, a kind of paddy, 441 n Hobson-Jobson, on China root, 300 n, 452 n. Holi, 94, 95 Holwell, 38, 133, 142, 226, 481 on the decline of manufactures, 437. on market commodities, 447. on rates of duties. 457 on income from Gunje, 457 n. on farming, 461 Mitra, Govindaram accused by, 461. on remission of duties, 435 n. Honey, 460 Howitt, Mr., 485 Hugli, 18, 456 appearance of Acton and Mills with warships in the, 292. Hummums, 227Hurrikissen Tagore, 105 n Hurtall, 472 n, 473 Huyghens, Mr., 213 n

1

Ibrahim Lodi, 106 n Icchamati River, 447 Ice, manufacture of, 435 Haji Mustafa on, 435 natural, at Rajmahal, 435.India, gunpowder manufacture in, 433. Indian servants, habits of, 478-79. cultivation at Indigo. Maldah, 448. Ryaz-us-salatin on, 448 n. Indore, 26 Industries, decline of Bengal, 438.Ingeley, 473 Invasions, Maratha, 466 effects of, 466, 467 (See also Maratha invasions.) Investments, 502 ff Impey, Sir Elija, 432 Imports of musk, gold and woolens, 452. duties on, 460, 469 remission of duties on, 471. of coolies, 485 distinguished Iran, from, 20-21. Iron, manufactories of, 433 wrought forges at Doucha, 438. wrought at mines Damra, 433. at Kistanagar, 433 forges at Mysara, 433 brought from Mullarpur, 433. duties on, 458 price of, 470, 478 Irrigation, system of, 449 Ishanabad, 319 influence of, Islam, Hindu society, 92.

Islamabad, 238



Itsāmuddin, 24

Sagarfnama-i-Wilyat, a note on, 520.

Ives, Voyage, 433

on blacksmiths and silversmiths, 433. on aurangs, 434 on servants, 475 on employment of roundel boys, 476 n. on habits of Indian servants, 478-79. on tailors, 482 on coolies, 490

J

Jackson, Mr., 217 Jacobs, Lt., 370 Jafargunj, 30, 102

Jagannātha-bhoga, a kind of paddy, 442 n.

Jagat Seth, 30, 102

Jalanghi, referred to in Rennel, 435 n, 444.

Jālārāngi, a kind of paddy, 442 n.

Jalpaiguri, 453

Jamadars, 478

pay of, 482

Jamāi-lādu, a kind of paddy, 442 n.

Jamalganj, 456

Jamdanies, 227

Jamil Dilārām, 96

Japan-wood, 473

Jațā-śālī, a kind of paddy,

442 n. acandra, of Noakha

Jayacandra, of Noakhali, 2 Jayadurgā Caudhurānī, 37

Jaynagara, 15

Jayanarāyāņa, 4, 25, 84 n,

85 n, 88 n.

Sen, Harililā of, a note on, 513.

Jeminder, 490, 491, 492

(See also Zamindar.)

Jessore, pepper cultivation in, 444.

agricultural products of,

cultivation of gram in, 444.

Rennel on, 444 tanks in, 444

Jeykill, Mr., 146 Jhinga-śāli, a kind of paddy,

442 n. Jingergatcha, cultivation in,

Jivarāma Vācaspati, 14 John Nagore, 457

Johnson, Mr., 482 n Johnstone, Mr., 508

Joint family, position of women in a Hindu, 39, 42.

Jouldary, 459, 460

Jowal, 448

Jow-bazary, 458

income from, 459 n

K

Kāgrām, 210

Kāhan, 468

Kāliā, a kind of paddy, 441 n

Kalidasa, 10

Kaliganj, 456 n

paddy fields in, 443

Kālīkirtana, of Rāmaprasāda, 3.

Kālinda, a kind of paddy, 441 n Kālmi-latā, a kind of paddy, 441 n.

Kalyan Singh, 103

Khulāśat-ut Tawārikh

of, a note on, 517. Kāmadeva Sarmā, 10, 11

Kāmodagarimā, a kind of paddy. 441 n.

Kanaka-cudā, a kind of paddy, 441 n.



Kňācipura, 17 Kñāculī, 80 Kanika. Raja of, his detention of Co.'s goods and merchants, 294. Kānsamās, 478 pay of, 482 Kantha-mālā, 87, 89 Kapota-Kanthikā, a kind of paddy, 441. Karam Ali. a note on Muzzaffarnamah of, 516. Karnavedha, 53 Kārtikā, a kind of paddy, 441 n. Kashmir, rice and wheat exported to, 451. musk, gold and woolens exchanged from, 452. scholars Kāsī, from, at Burdwan Catuspați, 3. Kāśī-phul, a kind of paddy, 441 n. Käste, 448 Kasturi, 83 Kataki, a kind of paddy, 441 n Kavibhūsana, Ruparāma, 26 Kaviraj, Ramjiban, 296 n Kayakacchas, kind of a paddy, 441 n. Kāyasthas, Kulinism among, 71 - 72.Kazi Gulam Muzzaffer, 20 Kebalram, 275, 285 Keir, Mr., 363 Kelsall, Mr. Henry, 251 negotiations with the Nawab for propitiating him by payment, 285-87. on Maratha invasions, 438. Kelekānu, a kind of paddy,

441 n.

Khan, Asgar Ali, 322

Kemp, Mr., 373

Jasarat, 143 Meer Abdulram, 254 Mir Sher Ali, Faujdar of Purneah, complaint to, regarding obstruction of the Co.'s gomastas, 320. Reza, Mr., 238 Nowazish Muhammad, 282.Sayyid Ahmad, 276 Khāyer-śāli, a kind of paddy, 441 n. Khidmutgars, 478, 482 Khejur-thupī, kind a paddy, 441 n. Khesārī, a kind of Rabi crop, Khoskhān, type of boats, 434.Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, 103 n, 104 n. a note on, 517. Khuñā, 80 Khwaja Abdul Karim, a note on Bayan-i-Waqai of, 521. Kirticandra, of Burdwan, 36 Kiriteswari, 95 Kissmisses, price of, 473 Kňāsārīs, 455 Kñoār-bhoga, 441 n Kñoār-purņimā, 441 n Koran, used by Hindus, 94, Kotwals, 462 Koyally, 458 income from, 459 n Krisna-śāli, a kind of paddy, 441 n. Kriyāyogasāra, of Anantarāma, 1, 8. Krsnacandracarita, 106 n Krsnacandra, of Nadia, 2, 3, 4, 14, 52, 512. Krsnadeva Vidyāvāgīša, 26 Krsnānanda Vācaspati, 14

Krsna Simha, 15 Ksemacandra, 36, 94 Ksema-gangājala, a kind of paddy, 441 n. Ksitīśavamśavalīcarita, 75 n, 80 n, 89 n. on Cakrān lands, 484 n Kulin, 26 Kulinism, 71 Kumar, see Mathabhanga Kumārhatta, 15 Kumārasambhavam, 3 Kumkuma, 83 Kundala, 86 Kussenudah, the Co.'s gomasta, 210, 306. Kusumāśāli, a kind of paddy

L

Labour, Section V, 475-501

441 n.

Kyretchand, Raja, 18

Kyirut-conah, 95 n

increase in demands for, 480. terms of employment, 481. rates of wages, 482 unpaid, 489 plan for corporate bodies of, 490. regulations for corporate bodies, 491, 492. Lac, 460 price of, 470 Lagnapatra, 54 Laksmi-priya, a kind of paddy. 442 n. Laksmindra, 94 Lang, Captain, case of, 500 Langal, 442 n. Lau-śāli, a kind of paddy 442 n. Laylāmaj**n**u, 33 Lead, 460

price of, 473 of Court Letter (s), Directors on saltpetre supply, 433. to Court on silk industries, 437, 437 n, 438. of Council in Calcutta on agricultural products, 451. of Court on regulation of weights, 462 n. of Govindram Mitra on rise of prices, 464 n. of Council in Calcutta on rise of prices, 466. of Mr. Meguire on Balasore weavers, 467. to the Court of Directors, a note on, 522. Leycester, Mr., 237 License, for trade and employment, 491, 492. Literature, contemporary, 3 on Maratha invasions, 467. vernacular, 4-5 Localisation of agricultural products, 442. Logic, 4, 14 Long's Selections, referred to, 464 n. Lothwood, price of, 470 Luckipur, 247, 320, 446, 472 Luckya River, 447 Luckypur, 442, 446 n Luricule, 446 n Lushington, 323 Luxury, articles of, 90-91 in toilet, 90 in food, 90-91

M

Mace, 470, 473



Madagascar, 24 Mādhava Bhāta, 17, 77 Mādhī, 45 Madhusüdana Nāpita, 8 Madras, 473 servants in, 475, 477 Māduā, 448 Māgana Thākur, 93 Mahābhāgavatapurāna, 12 Mahārāstrapurāņa, on rabi crops, 448 n. on effects of Maratha invasion, 450 n. a note on, 514 cotton and Mahespunda, paddy at, 444. Mahmed-arif, Maulavi, Mahmud Suddock, 105 n Mahomed el Medoo Bed Ali, Mahtabchand, banker, 229 Mai, 448 Maidservant, pay of, 482 Maimansingh, 452 n Mājhi Kāyet, 7 Majilapura, 15 Mājkura, 492. 493 Makhmala, 455 Maktabs, 23 Mala, 87 Malabar, pepper, 263 Malacola, 435 n Malay, Bengal's trade with, 257. Malda, Cossaes, 249 English merchants and gomastas at, 282. factory at, 128, 136, 311. complaint of English merchants at, 294. Maldah, indigo cultivation at, 448. Māldai, a kind of cloth, 455. Maldive, 250

Mālī, pay of, 482 Manasa, 94 Manasāmangala, 94 on ship-building, 434 n Mandals (same as Mundells) Mandalghat, 17 Manningham, Mr. Charles, 133, 135. on Govindarama Mitra's guilt, 461, 462. Mānsimha, 45 Mansurganj, 95 Manufacture of gunpowder, 433. of iron, 433 of ice, 435 influence of Maratha invasions on, 436, 438. causes of decline, 437, 438, 439. Manufactures, responsibility of Co.'s gomastas and servants for the decline of, 438. of sugar, 441 n Stavorinus on, 441 n process, 441 n of cloth, 447 of coir rope, 472 n Manure, use of, 449 Mapleloft, 25 Marathas, 101, 102 invasions, 192, 293 obstruction to English trade, 372. invasions, influences on manufactures, 436-38. silk influences on manufactures, 437. cotton influences on manufactures, 437. agriculture, effect on 450.Mahārāstrapurāņa 450 n.



increase of prices due to ravages of, 465, 468. effects of the invasions of, 466, 467. invasians, contemporary literature on, 467, 520.

Marathi, 15
Market(s), in Bengal, 454
Rāmaprasāda on, 454
commodities in, 454
departments of, 455
at different places, 456,
456 n.
for grain, 456

Vijayarāma on, 455, 455 n, 456.

at Bowanganj, Jamalganj and other places, 456.

at Rajmahal, Kaliganj, Futwah. Cassimbazar, Nadia, Cutwah, 456 n.

for ghee, 456 in Calcutta, 456, 457 duties levied at, 457, 458 at Sutanati, 457

farming of, 457, 458, 459, 460.

variety of commodities sold and shops opened, 461.

regulation of, 462 regulation of weights and measures, 462 n.

Marriage, laws and customs, 53-74.

(See also Bazars.)

party, 57 celebration of, 58 Women's rites in, 58-61. processions and fire-

works in, 63 f. early ones general, 68-69 early marriage not always observed in case of Kulin's daughter, 73.

Marriott, Mr., 508
Martin, Colonel, his manufactory of guns at Lucknow, 432.

Masālchī, see Demar Māskalāi, 448 Masurī, 448 Maṭara, 448 Match-makers, 53 Mathabhanga, 444 n, 448

Mathabhanga, 444 n, 445 n Mauritius, expedition to, 501.

Māyātimiracandrikā, 4 Mayor's court, 188 Mayurpankhī, 434 Meguire, Mr., 254;

on Balasore weavers, 467. Measures and weights, regulation of, 462.

Mechanics, skill and work-

manship of, 433. Ives and Craufard on,

ves and Crautard on,

Medicine, 22

Medium, of instruction, Sanskrit, 3.

of exchange, 463

Meer Madan, 102 Maghna, 446n, 447 Melānībhāras, 65

Merchants, foreign, 455

competition among, 466, 469.

Midnapur, 102, 228 Miran, 310

Mir Assul, 215

Mircasim, see Mirkasim Mir Jafar, 30. 94, 95 n, 102,

108 n, 104 n, 298.

his general sanad of, 1757, 304



installation his 88 Nawab and treaty with English, 343. reversal of the policy of Mir Kasim by, 343. representations to the Co. for trade regulations, 344-45. Mir Kasim, 20, 98, 103, 104, 104 n. accession and condition of trade, 310. on the grievances of English traders, 325. letter to the President, 326.defeat and expulsion from Bengal, 343. on dearness of grain, 472 n. Mir Mahmed, 19 Mir Mahmed Alim, 19 Mir Md. Kassim Khan, 104n Mir Rustam Ali, 19 Mir Sher Ally, 311 Khan, Mirzamoez mooseir 19. Mitra, Kasiram, 214 Ramdev, 105-06, 106 n Shyam, 220 Sookdev, 106 n S. R., 97 n Types of a note on Early Bengali Prose, 515. Mitra, Govindaram, 461 accused, 461 on floods, 466 Mobaganj, 443 Mohanlal, 102 Mondy Bazar, 457 Monghyr, 20 Mir Kasim and Vansittart meet at, 327. manufacture of guns

Monopoly, evils of the Co.'s, 265, 309. in salt, etc., establishment of, 354-59. arrangements of shares in salt, etc., 359-60. effects of the. 361-65 Moodys (grocers), 281 Moog, 448 Moors, 303 Mooteas, 484 Motijhil, 94 Mughals, 228 complaints of, against the English, 278. Mugs, ravages of, affect agriculture, 450. and slave trade, 498 carrying of peoples by, 499. practice regarding slaves, 499. Muhammad Bazar, 433 Muhammad Ghori, 100 n Wafa, a note Waqai-i-Fath Bangala of, 518. Muhammadans, relations with, 92-106, 95. harmonious, 92-99 bitter, 99-106 Mukherji, Hridiram, 239 Mullarpur, Purganah, 433 Mulmuls, 227 Mundells, 490 Murang, 454 Murangi Wood, 453 Murshidabad, 20, 94, 95 n. 285, 300, 352, 456, price of articles at, 463, 464. Murshid Kuli, 37, 99, 100, 273, 438. Murtali, 210 Murtaza Hussayan, a note on Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim of, 521.

at, 431-32.

Musalchi, pay of, 482 Muscat, Coja, 316 Music, among women, 38-39 instruments, 39 Hindu, 98

Mustafa, Haji, on the advantages of the English over the native traders, 329-30.

> on manufacturers of guns in Bengal, 431-32.

Mustapha Khan, 190 Mustard seed, cultivation of, 444.

Mutchulkas, 227, 281, 320
Mutlubgunje, removal of the
Jugdea factory to, 246.
Muzaffar Ali Khan, 20
Muzaffarnamah, 94 n, 95 n
a note on, 516.
Mysara, iron forges at, 433

N

Naba Kissen, 104 n
Nadiā, 2, 299, 456 n
Tols of, 3, 12, 14, 80
pepper cultivation in,
444.
Krsnacandra of, 512

Nainsooks, 227
Naisadha, 7
Naiyāyīkas, 14
Nala-Damayanti, 8
Nala-Jaumkā, 86
Nandanašālī, a kind of paddy,
442 n.

Nannur. 210 Nāpita, Madhusūdana, 8 Narasimha Vasu. 18 Narendranārayaņa Rāya, 36 Narsingh, 217 Nasipur, 27 Nassyr, Maulavi, 19 Nath, 85, 89 Natore, 26 Nattour, bazar in, 454 n Navakrana, Raja of Sobhabazar, 18, 27, 104. -Nawab, 468 Nawabganj, 446 Neamat Uttak, 231 Negrais, 480 coolies sent to, 484 Nellegreen Hill, 467 New Bazar, 456 Niagonga, 446 n Nian Mullick, 105 n Nicholl, Lt., 395 . Nidbu Babu, 24 tappās of, 515 Nilgiri, 467 Nilmony, 105 n Nimai Sen. 206 Nissanka Rai, Rāņi, 27 Nityānanda Vairāgi, songs of, 515. Noakhali, 2 Nuptial ties, sanctity of, 56 Nüpuras, 86 Nurses, pay of, 482 Nutmeg, price of, 470, 473

0

Oil, prices of, 464, 465, 474
Oliapour, 443 n
Olmorra, 254
Olyapour, 443
Omichand, 212, 370, 371
contracts with the
English to deliver
saltpetre, 281-82.
proposes to take one
third of Co.'s investments, 120.



saltpetre, 368 Opium, eultivation of, 444 process of production of, 444 n. Oranges, 452 Orissa, a centre of education and culture, 15-16, 27, 37. Oriya, Vernacular literature, 15. Orme, 101, 101 n, 103 n, 304 description of oppression by the English Company's servants, 305, 417-18. on agriculture, 440 on rice, 440 on spices, 441 on sugar, 441 on exports, 448 n Ornās, 81 Ornaments, use of, by men, 77 by women, 85 ff on nose, 86 on ears, 86 on arms, 86 head. 86 feet, 86-87 fingers and neck, 87-88 Ostend Company, 273 Osunpur, betel-leaves at, 447 Oxen, for cultivation, 448

P

Pabna, 452 n
Pabna, agricultural products
of, 445.

Padakalpataru, 98 n
Paddy, cultivation in Bengal,
441.
types of paddy, 441 n,
442 n.
fields in Rangpur 442,
443.
in Purneah, 443

fields, 444 at Mahespunda, 444 at Nadia, 445 at Pabna, on Arti Riversides, island, Binetty 445. at Dacca, at Colinda, 447. at Suri, 448 Padma, river, 437 Padmapurāna, 8 Padmāvat, 93 Pāirā-rasa, a kind of paddy 442 n. Palanquin-boys, 475 functions and pays of, 477. Palit, Rajaram, 106 n Palwārā, a type of boats, 435 Pancways, a type of boats, 435 Paradeśi, a kind of paddy, 441 n. Parmananda, 247 Parwanah, 226, of the Nawab Allahvardi, to Governor Barwell, 278, 290. of the Nawab Allahvardi, in favour of the English, 293. of Mir Kasim, to Raja Nobet Roy, 335 n. Pāsā, 86 Pāśuli, 87 Pathans, 228

Pāthaśālā, in every village, 5
system of education in,
5.7.

Patnā, 192 n, 323
chief of, 326
Council's instructions
to the factors of,
345-46, 352.
Centre of trade in cloth,
opium and saltpetre.



Saltpetre trade of the English at, 368-85. the Dutch send saltpetre from, 375. order of abolition saltpetre factory at, 378-79. Pātsa-bhoga, a kind of paddy, 442 n. Pattle, Mr., 212 Pattu, a kind of cloth, 455 Pattullo, 418 on effects of pushing up of rents, 451. Patulia, 12 Payagrāma, 26 Pay, of servants, 475 fixed, 482 rates of, 482 Pearks, Mr., 226 Pearls, 455 Pedo, 36 Pegu-wax, 473 Peons, 475 functions and pays of, 477, 480. Pepper, cultivation, in different places, 444. price of, 473 Perpets, 509, 510, 511 Perry, Lieut., case of, 591 Persia, salt from, 473 Persian, 7, 24 knowledge of, a practical necessity, 19. education, 16-24 patrons of, 19 centres of, 20 standard of, 21-24 institutions and methods of, 21-24. Persian Gulf, commerce of merchants with, 261. Philippine islands, trade with

Bengal, 257.

Philosophy, 4, 14, 15

Phoenix, feathers, 77 Picārs, 233, 325 kind of Pipidā-vānka, a paddy, 442 n. Pirates, Mug, 450 Portuguese, 450 Pistacha nat, 473 flower, 473 Plantain trees, 468 Plassey, battle of, and ininvestment of creased English Company, 145-46. English victory at, 210 commercial effects of, 260.trade abuses, 304-56, 438. Playdell, Mr. Charles Stafford, 143, 244. Plough, 448 Pñāijora, 87 Pñācā-nara, 87 Pñuthi, Samsera Gajira, a note on, 514. Poddars, 281 Poetry, 27 Police Inspectors, see Kotwal. Polygamy, 72 Ponjelli, market at, 456 Popular tales, 8 Portuguese Church at Luncule, 446 n. ravage of, agriculture affected, 450. and slave trade, 498 Prananatha Nyayapancanana, 14. Premakalā, 16 Prematarangini, 16 President, of Calcutta Council, 187. efforts at compromise between Nawab and, 327.

Council,



Prices, 455, 465 regulations of, 462 of commodities, 463 of rice, wheat, barley, 463. of oil, ghee, 464 at Murshidabad, 464 rise of prices (wheat, oil, ghee. rice). 464. factors enhancing, 465 Bhāratacandra referred to, for, 468. gradual rising of, 470 standard, fixed, 472 509. of articles, 474, 510, 511. slaves, 492, 493, 494, 499. of Abyssinian slaves, 497. Prithvirāj, 100 n Private initiative, in education, 1, 2. Proceedings, referred to, for prices, 470. Brohier's plan, 486 n. Prosody, 10 Pulses, in Purneah, 443 Pun, 468 Punarviā, 69 Punarak, 221 Purneah, 453, the faujdar of, 320 to reply English complaints, 321 n, 326. products agricultural of, 443, 444. paddy and pulses in, 443. wheat cultivation in, 443, 444.

of Bembay

202.

pepper, 444
mustard seed, 444
Rennel on, 444
cattle, 544
opium, 444
ebony found in, 452
Putney, 129, 138, 200, 207
Puttan, 227

O

Quick silver, price of, 473

R

Rābi crops, cultivation of, 441. referred to in contemporary literature, 448. Rādhā, 93 Rādhamādhava Ghosa, note on Brhatsaravali of, 515. Rāghavendra Rāja, 8 Raghuvamsam, 3 Ragoomitra, 105 n Rai Durlabh, 102 Rāi Sādhorām, 103, 104 Raisins, price of, 470, 473 Rajabary, 446, 446 n Rājakisora Mukhopādhāya, Rajanagara, 26 Rajballabh, exaction from the English and the French, 295. Rajmahal, 323 faujdar of, 323 natural ice at, 435 manufacture at, 435.

market at, 456 n



Rajnagore, 446 n of, 322, Rajshahi, Zilladar 452 n. Rājvallabha, 26, 52, 88 n Rājivalocana, 106 n Rāmaballabha Vidyāvāgīśā, Rāmacandra Munsi, 17, 18 Rāmadāsa, 15, 16 Rāmagati Sena, 4, 26 Rāmagopāla Sārvabhauma, 14. Rāmānanda Vācaspati, 14 Rāmanārayan, 77 n, 102 Ramanārāyaņa Gopa, 7 Rāmanidhi, 24 a note on songs of, 515Rāmaprasāda Sena. 3, 4, 17, 25, 40, 45, 75 n, 76 n, 79 n. 85 n, 86 n, 89 n, 90 n, 455 n. on markets, 454 on commodities, 454, 455. labour, unpaid on 489 n. a note on Granthāvalī of, 512. Rāmarudra Vidyānidhi, 15 Rāmaśālī, 442 n Rāma Simha Rāi, 79 n Rāmāyana, 2 Rāmeśvara, 1, 4 Sīvāyana of, on kinds of paddy, 442 n. agricultural implements, 448. cultivation and fieldworks, 449. a note on, 513 Ramnaut Colly, 249 Ramram Singh, 102 Rāmaratana, 12 Ramsantose, 105 n

Rängä-mete, 442 n

skirmish be-Ranga-soula, the people and tween Co.'s troops at, 298. Rangpur, products, 442 paddy fields in, 443 opium cultivation, 444 Rānī Bhavānī, 26, 31, 35, 52, 456. Rani Nissanka Rai, 27 Rannie, David, on abuse of dastaks, 303. Rao Balaji, 370 Rasavatī, 16 Rattan, 473 Ray, Kaisoo, imprisonment of Co.'s servants by, 322. Records of the E. I. Co., a note on, 522. Red lead, 473 Regulations, for coolies, 488 for servants, 481 for workers' corporate bodies, 491-92. Religious songs, 8 Remuneration for writing books, 2. Rennel, 211 n, 326 n, 387 n, 390 n. 391, 393, 401, 432. on Birbhum iron manufacture, 433. Journals of, 433 n, 435 n. on economic decline of Dacca, 439. on Purneah, 444 on wheat cultivation, 444. on Jessore, 444 on sugar, 444 n on Binetty island and other places, 446 n, 447 n. on cotton production at Colinda, 447 n. on bazars, 454 n



on Nattour (Natore), 454 n. Rents, Mr. Pattullo on, 451 Revenue, from sale of slaves, 499. Ram Chand Pandit, 50 Rice, cultivation, referred to by Orme, 440. price of, referred to by Orme, 441. Rice, export of, 451 duties on, 457 prices of, 463, 470, 474 kinds of, 463 rise of prices, 464, 465 remission of duties on, 465. (See also Paddy.) Rickard, on cowries, 464 n network of roads Roads, throughout Bengal, 387intersecting of, 389-91 condition of, 392 postal, 393 Romals, 189 price of, 189 Roundel boys (servants), 475, 476. prohibition of employment of, 476 n. Rosewater, price of, 473 Ross, Mr., 237 Roy, Nobet, 319 Rubies, 455 Rumbold, Mr., 363 Rungpur, 37 Rupanārāyana, a kind of paddy, 442 n. Sir Francis, 186, Russel. 187. Russagars, 227 Rutto Sircar, 105 n Ryaz-us-salatin, on indigo, cultivation, 448 n.

referred to, 452 n

on scarcity of food due to Maratha ravages, 468. a note on, 517

S

Sadānanda, 96

Sadānanda Kavisuryabrahma, 15. Sādhorām, 103 Sādhi, 45 Sadpur, 19 Safdar Jang, at Patnā, 211 Saffron, 454 Sagarfnāmāh, 24 a note on, 520 Sahajiyā, 33, 97 Sahamat Jang, 94, 95 n Salimullah, a note Tarikh-i-Bangala of, 517. Salt; price of, 473 Saltpetre, 211, 311 trade in, 211 boats of the Company laden with saltpetre robbed by Nawab's officers, 323. Saltpetre, centre of, Bihar, 368. trade of the English at Patna, 368-86. price of, 369-70 trouble over the delivery of, 376-77. Deepchand engages in private trade 377. English contract with Omichand for, 381-82. pressing demands from England, Bombay and Madras, 383-84.



English Co. obtain absolute control over, 385.supply of, from Bihar,

433 n, 460.

Samasera Gājir Pñuthi, 7, 97, 97 n.

> on weights, 463 n a note on, 514

Sanalota, river, 443

48 Sanat rupees, batta on,

Sandal, 454 use of, 76

Sandalwood, 460

price of, 473

Sankaradāsa, 13, 84 n, 85 n, 86 n, 87 n, 493.

Sankara-jātā. kind of a paddy, 442 n.

Sankirtanas, 8 Sannyāsinīs, 27

Sanskrit, 15, 17, 24, 26, 27

learning, important centres of, 14, 15.

Santipur, cloth factory at, 238.

Sara, see Sela.

Sāradā, 17

Sārasamgraha, 15

Sarfaraz Khan, 30, 98

Sāris, 189,

choppa, 189

Sarkar Bazuha, forest at, 452.

> Silhat (Silhet), fruits at, 452.

Sarmā, Anantarāma, 8 Ratnavallabha, 494

Sātā-nara, 87 Sati, 46-52

attitude of the state to it, 50-51.

forbidden, 51

Satyapīra, 96, 96 n, 97 Saulat Jang, 94, 95 n

Saydabad, Chowkey at, 203

Sayyid Mahmed Ali, 21 Sayyid Mir Mahmed Sedjad, 19.

Scarlet dussil, price of. 510.

Science, 21

Scott, Colonel, 100

Scrafton, 22, 48, 51, 98 n, 99 n, 103 n.

> the Co.'s Resident Murshidabad. 297, 305.

Seir-ul-mutakherin, 18, 19, 20, 21, 76 n, 85 n, 95 n, 98 n, 329.

a note on, 515, 516

Sela, 435 n

Select Committee of Bengal, of the its description situation in Bengal, 348.

plan of the, on monopoly of trade, 354-60. opinion of, on monopoly plan, 360-61.

relinquishes all inland trade and monopoly, 367.

manufactures Bengal, 417.

Sen. Dr. D. C., 7, 33, 92 n, 93, 96, 96 n.

> a note on Typical Selections of, 515.

Sen, Jayanārāyana, 88 n

Sen, Rāmgati, 4 Sena, Gangādāsa, 7

Serampore, 247, 445

Servants, 475

classes of, 475, 478 duties of, 475 pays of, 475 castes of, 476, 477 Ives on habits of, 478, 479.

wages fixed, 481



terms of employment, 481. rates of wages of, 482 register of, 483 wages after thirty years, 483 n. wages in mofussil, 484 difference between slaves and, 496. Seths, 101 Seth, Jagat, 191 a Bill of Exgives change, 375. Mahatabchand, 204 Ramkissan, 300 Ramkrishna, 205 Shah-adhem, 19 Shah Alam, 24 Shah-haider, 20 Shah Mahmed-amin, 19 Shah Mahmed-Hussain, 21 Shah Nadir, 259 Shahpara, 19 Shah-qhyzyr, 19 Shell workers, see Snakhāris Shems-eddin, 19 Shibganj, 456 Shipbuilding, description of, in Manasāmangala, 434 n. Shitab Ray, 103, 104 n Shroffs, 191 Shyam Bazar, 456 Sicca, coins, 195 Sichterman, 48 Silhet, 313 (See also Sarkar Silhet.) Silk, from Cassimbazar, 186 price of, 186 raw, 186 piece-goods, 187 white, 190 plunder of belonging to the English Marathas, 293. Silk, industries, 436 decline of, 436

Maratha influence of invasions, 436, 437. manufacture, causes of decline, 437, 438. Silver, 201 Silversmiths, work of, described by Ives, Craufurd and Stavorinus, 433. Singh, Makum, 224 Raja Ram, 143 Ray, 215 Turrut, 426 Singhia, 220 Sirajuddowla, 30, 94, 102, 102 n, 104: quarrels of, with the English companies, 142-43. protest of, against the abuse of dastaks, 303. Sirni, 96 Siva, 26 Sivāyana, 1 of Ramesvara, on types of paddy, 441 n, 442 n. on agricultural implements, 448. on cultivation and field works, 449. on draining of overflooded fields, 450. a note on, 513 Slave(s), prices of, 492 ff position of, 495 ff difference between menials and, 496. female, duties of, 496, 496 n. treatment of, 496 duties of, 496 Abyssinian, 497 market, breeding for, 498. trade in, 497, 498 Englishman in trade of, 498,



market in Calcutta, 498. sale of, as an item of revenue, 499. sale of, depicted, 499 importation of, 500 from Mauritius Bourbon expedition, 501. condition of, in European families, 501. misery of, in European Anglo-Indian families, 501. Slavery, Sec. V, 492,-501 prevalence of, 492 ff types of, 492, 494. instances of, 492 ff causes of, 493 ff not and voluntary forced, 496 in Bihar, 500 cases regarding, 500. 501 spread of, 501 Slippers, use of, 76 Sloop, Swallow, 232 Smith, Mr. John, 243 Snithi, 86 Sňākhā, 84 Snākhāris, 455 Sobhabazar, 456 Sonapara, see Sunapara Songs, of Ramanidhi, 515 of Haru Thakur, 515 of Nityānanda Vairāgī, 515. Soobaram Bysak, 105 n Sookdeb Mullick, 105 n Sorupganj, 456 Spices, Orme on, 441 Hadigat-ul-Agalim on, 441 n. Spinning among women, 43. 44.

Sribatta, 493 Srikrishna, banker, 202 Srutabodha, 10 Stages, in educational career of a Sanskrit scholar, 3-4. Stavorinus, 49, 51, 75 n. 76 n, 78 n, 80 n, 88 n. on salt monopoly, plan of Select Committee, 364-65, 368 n. 401. manufacture sugar, 430-31, 441 n. voyage of, 434 on boats, 434 n, 435 n Stavorinus. on export wheat, 442. process of opium production, 444 n. on exports, 451 medium of change, 464 n. coir-rope manufacture, 472 n. on famines, 473 n on servants, 575 on caste functions, 478 Steel, 473 Subhankara, 6 Sudhārām, 9 Sugar, Orme on, 441 Stavorinus on, 441 n Abbe de Guyon on, 441 n. production centres. 441 n. manufacturing process of, 441 n. from Cazir Gatch. 444 n. Sugar, at Jingergatcha, 444 n duties on, 460 Sugar candy, price of, 478 Sugarcane, cultivation of, production in Rungpur, 442.



at Azimpur, 446 Sulakşanā, 16 Sultansaddy, 447 Sumner, Mr. W. B., 307 Mr., 353, 362 Sunapara, 447 Sundara, 45, 454 Raja of | Sunder Singh, Ticary, 20 f. Surat, 902 Suri, 433, 448 Surmat Durgaram, 106 n Singh Pargana, Suroof 448. Surul, 448 Sutanati, market, 457 income from, 458 n market days at, 461 Swarupsingh, see Surrof Singh. Syed-alım-ullah, 20 Syre, 300 Syria, 200

T

Tailors, Ives on, 482n wages of, 482 duties, 483 Taffaties, 159 Tajpur, 17 Tākiyā, 89 Taksasilā, 1 Tanjeebs, 228 Tanks in Jessore, 444 use and presence of, 449. Tantalea, 295 Tantric, 33 Tāra or tāirā, 86 Tārāsundarī, 30 Tāri, see Toddy Tarikh-i-Bangala, a note on, 517.

Tasar, 80 Taxila, 100 n Taylor, 126 n, 256 n on the dressing and cloth. packing of 113-14. Tea, 473 Tellicherry, 263 Terrendams, 236 Theology, 21 Tibet, rice and wheat exported to, 451. and musk, gold woolens exchanged from, 452. Ticary, 90 Tilakchand, Raja of Burdwan, 296, 485. obstructs Co.'s business, 296 n. Til-Sāgari, 442 n Timber, 452, 452 Tin, 473 Tirhut, scholars from, at Burdwan Catuspați, 3. Tirthamangala, of Vijayarāma, 75 n, 76 n, 79 n, 90 n. on ship-building, 434 n markets, 454 n, 455n, 455, 456. a note on, 515 Tithe, abolition of, 471 Tobacco, in Rangpur and Cochymeda, 442. in Dewanganj, 443 at Azimpur, 446 duties on, 457, 460 scarcity of, 468 Toddy, 490 Toilet of women, 83 Tolbākhānā, of Samasera Gāji, 7. Toneah, river, 212 Tootenague, 459, 473

Tošākhānā, 79



Trade, houses of and other agencies of French, 107. union of the dālāls of Bengal, 115. private, allowed to the

private, allowed to the Co.'s servants, 126.

with Kashmir and Tibet, 258.

of the British Company in Bengal, 272.

obstruction to the English Co.'s, 273.

in salt, betelnut, etc., duty-free; decision of Council, 333.

the Nawab's right to make regulations for, view of Hastings and the Nawab, 337-38.

regulation of internal trade, by Mir Jafar, 344-45.

and tobacco, stopped by Directors, 349.

export and import, made duty-free by Firman of, 1716 A.D., 349. monopoly of, 354-59

Trade, Committee of, 358, 359, 360.

its abolition, 366

in saltpetre, of the English at Patna, 368-86.

relations of the Dutch and the English over saltpetre, 377-80.

falling of, 466 Traffic in slaves, 498 Tribune, 98 n Trilaharī, 87

Triveni, 15 Turmeric, 459

Types of Early Bengali Prose referred to on slaves

and slavery, 493 n, 496. a note on, 515 Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature, 434 n. a note on, 515

U

Ulipur, see Oliapur University, 1 Upendra Bhañja. 15, 16 Urdu, 17 Utkala, scholars from, at Burdwan Catuṣpāṭhi, 3.

V

Vadancandra Ghosa, 9, 11, 12, 13. Vairāginīs, 27 Vaisnava, 97, 99 Vaisņavadāsa, 98 n Vakil, 215 Vanāt, a kind of cloth, 455 Vāneśvara, 14 Vāñśaveria, 15, 10 Vansittart, Mr., 237, 322 n narrative of, 326, 327 meets the Nawab to settle matters, 327. attacked by members of his Council for concluding agreement with Nawab. 332-33.

Nawab gives his reasons for the general abolition of all duties to, 338-39.

about political conduct of, and his Council, 340-41.

Varajātrā, 75



Vāsaraghara, 62 Vasumati, referred to on slavery, 494 n. Vedānta, 4 Vedas, 96 Vedic Prosody, 4 Vegetable, cultivation of, 441 Velvets, price of, 509. 510, 511. Verelst, Mr., 238, 353 on women in India, 29, 31, 33. view of, 257 n on oppressions of the English gomastas and agents, 310-11, 321 n. on monopoly plan of Select Committee in salt, betelnut and tobacco, 361-64. on unpaid labour, 489 n Vermilion, 473 Vernacular education, 5-9 details of, 5-7 no exact curriculum, 5 channels of enlightenment of masses, 8. widespread, 7-9 literature, study of, 4-5 places of encourageto study of ment Sanskrit and Vernacular, 14. in Oriya, 15-16 translations of the Purānas, 12. works written by men in lower social strata, Vesara, 86 Vidagdha-Cintāmanī, 15 Vidagdha-Mādhava, 16

Vidyā, 25, 40, 45, 77

Vidyāsundara, 17, 40, 45,

76 n, 84 n, 455, 755 n.

Vijāyarāma, 75 n, 76 n, 79n, 90 n. Tirthamangala of, on boats, 434 n. on markets. 454 n. 455. 455 n. 456, 456 n. Tirtha-Senaviśārada. mangala of, a note on, 513. Vikrampur, a centre of Vernacular literature, 4, 52. Village Communities, 492 Vireśvara Nyāyapañcānana, 14. Virsimha, 77 Viśarada, a noble man, 2 Vişnukumārī, Mahārānī, Voyage, by Ives, 433 Voyage, by Stavorinus, 434

W

Wages, of coolies, 479 of banians, 479 rise of, 480 causes of the rise of, 480. fixed, 480, 481 standard, fixed, 482 of different classes employed, 482. rates of, 482 changed, 483 n in mofussils, 484 method of payment of, 484. abuses of, 485, 486 Brohier's plan of the payment of, 486. defects of the plan of, 487. Wake, Mr., 202 Walbeck, Mr., 377 Waqai-i-Fath, a note on, 518



Waqai-i-Mahabat Jung, see Waqai-i-Fath. Ward, 26 Warren Hastings, 18 Washerman, 70 pay of, 482 Watts, Mr., 205, 413, 508 Wax, 460 Pegu, 473 Wazid, Khwaja, 380 Weavers, at Balasore, 467 effect of Maratha invasions on, 467. Weaving, among women, 43-44. Weights and measures, regulation of, 462, 462 n. standard, 462 Samasera Gājira Pñuthi on, 463 n. Wheat, cultivation of, 441 production of, in Bengal, 442. export of, 442, 451 Stavorinus on, 442 cause of decline in production of, 442. decline of export of, 442. in Rangpur, 442, 444 in Purneah, 443, 444 Bengal wheat competing with Cape of Good Hope corn, 452. duties on, 460 prices of, 463, 474 White lead, 473 Widow remarriage, 52 Wife, classes of, 40 William Wagan, 228 Women, after-dinner gossip, 43. bathing of, 43

Women, cooking by, 43

customs among, 42-48

obnoxious customs, 44-46. dependance on husbands, 33 35. dress, toilet articles and ornaments of. 80-89. income from spinning and weaving, 43-44. in pregnancy, 42 mimic world in childhood, 41-42. music among, 38-40 occupations in leisure, 43 f. part in political and administrative affairs, 35-38. position of, 29-52 position in a Hindu joint family, 40-42. quarrelsome habit, 46 references by contemporary European writers, 29-32. reforms, 52 sati, 46-52 strength of conjugal fidelity, 30-33. were women transferred with little ceremony, 29-33. women's rites in adhivāsa, 55 f. in marriage, 58-61 Wood, John, 269 n, 300 Worker's Bodies, 490 regulations for, 490 Worship of gods, in marriage, Wymn, Mr. Huge, 250

Y

Yamarāja, 13



Yamasangītā, 13 Yaśovanta, Rājā, 1 Yaśovanta Rāya, 27 Yava, a kind of rabi crop, 448.

. 11-6k . gmr Z

Zainuddin, 38
Zair-hossein Khan, 19
Zamindar(s), 294, 462, 463
their obstruction of
English trade, 29497.

of Fultah, stops boats with English dastaks, 295. of Malda and Sonamukhi, their ill-treatment of Company's gomastas, 297, 297 n. Company's retaliatory on the. measures 298-99. of Tajpur, 311 of Baharbund, 443 n fixing of prices by, 465, 465 n. meeting of, 481 unpaid labour and, 489

Zamindary, court of, 481